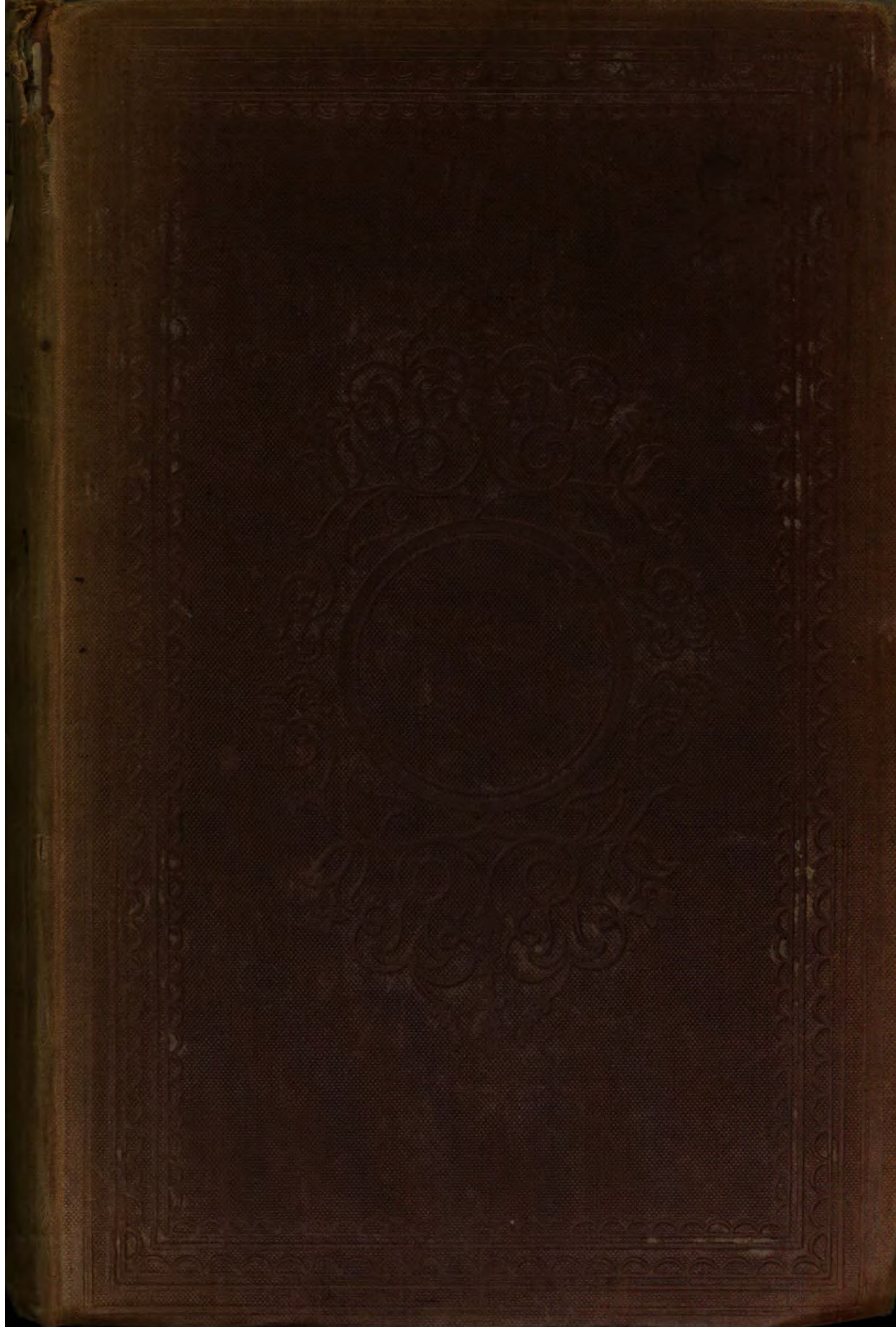




CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.

VOL. III.

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OF

WILLIAM PITT

EARL OF CHATHAM
CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, ESQ., AND
WILLIAM PITT

EARL OF CHATHAM
CORRESPONDENCE

AND SEVERAL OTHERS

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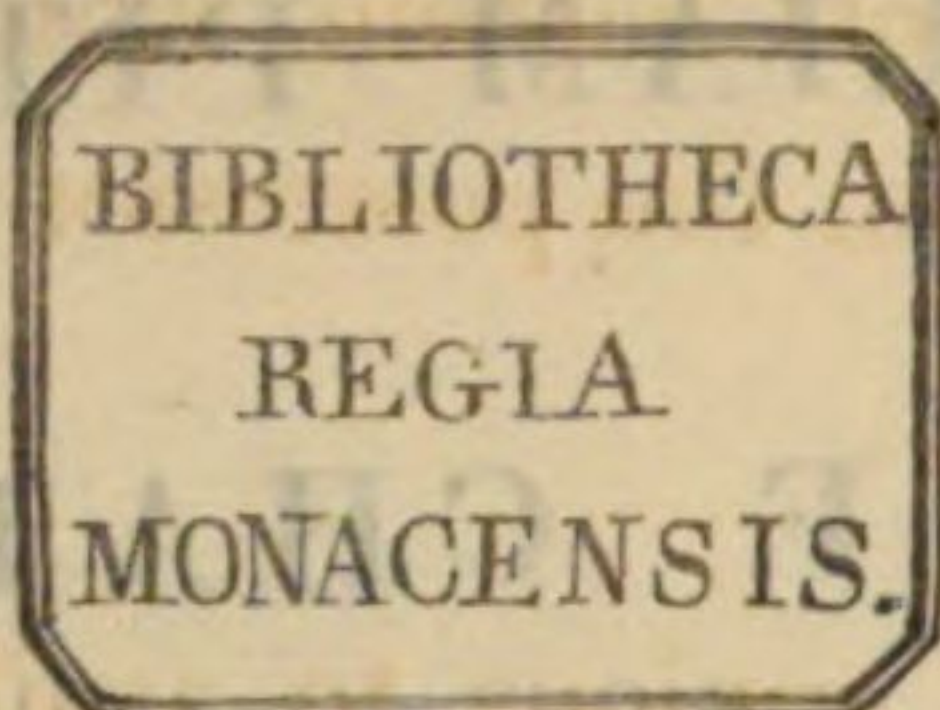
CORRESPONDENCE
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EDITED BY
WILLIAM STANHOPE TAYLOR, ESQ., AND
CAPTAIN JOHN HENRY PRINGLE,
EXECUTORS OF HIS SON,
JOHN, EARL OF CHATHAM,
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CORRESPONDENCE



JOHN EARLE OF CHATHAM

VOL. III

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

LONDON

IN this and the succeeding volume, the reader will find several letters addressed to the Earl of Shelburne by the Earl of Chatham, which are published from the originals in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

The editors are anxious to avail themselves of this opportunity to express their gratitude to his Lordship for the kindness which enables them to publish a correspondence of much interest, as illustrative of the feelings of Lord Chatham, during a very eventful period of his life.

They also desire to offer their best thanks to Viscount Sidmouth for his kind permission to copy the letters written by the Earl of Chatham to the late Dr. Addington ; and to William Beckford, Esq. for those addressed to his father, which he has so obligingly communicated.

May, 1839.

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE,

From Jan. 1766 to Nov. 1770.

Lord Chancellor.

- 1764. Jan. 16. Robert, Earl of Northington.
- 1766. July 30. Charles, Lord Camden.
- 1770. Jan. 17. Hon. Charles Yorke, created Lord Morden ; but died
on the 20th, before the seals were put to his patent
of peerage.

First Lord of the Treasury.

- 1765. July. Marquis of Rockingham.
- 1766. Aug. Duke of Grafton.
- 1770. Lord North.

President of the Council.

- 1765. Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.
- 1766. Earl of Northington.
- 1767. Earl Gower.

Lord Privy Seal.

- 1765. Duke of Newcastle.
- 1766. Earl of Chatham.
- 1768. Earl of Bristol.

First Lord of the Admiralty.

- 1765. Earl of Egmont.
- 1766. Sep. Sir Charles Saunders, K. B.
- Dec. Sir Edward Hawke, K. B., afterwards Lord Hawke.

Principal Secretaries of State.

1765. July.	Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, <i>vice</i> Earl of Sandwich.
1766. May.	Charles, Duke of Richmond, <i>vice</i> Duke of Grafton.
— Aug.	William, Earl of Shelburne, <i>vice</i> Duke of Richmond.
1768. Jan.	Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, <i>vice</i> Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway.
—	Willes, Earl of Hillsborough, for the colonies.
— Oct.	William Henry, Earl of Rochford, <i>vice</i> Earl of Shelburne.

Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1765. July.	Right Hon. William Dowdeswell.
1766. Aug.	Right Hon. Charles Townshend.
1767. Sep.	William, Lord Mansfield.
1767. Dec.	Lord North.

Master-General of the Ordnance.

1763.	Marquis of Granby.
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Treasurer of the Navy.

1765.	Viscount Howe.
1770.	Sir Gilbert Elliot.

Secretary at War.

1765.	Viscount Barrington.
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Paymaster-General.

1765.	Right Hon. Charles Townshend.
1766.	{ Frederick Lord North.
	{ George Cooke, Esq.
1767.	{ George Cooke, Esq.
	{ Thomas Townshend, Esq.
1768.	Richard Rigby, Esq.

Joint Postmasters-General.

1765.	{ Earl of Besborough.
	{ Lord Grantham.
1766.	{ Earl of Hillsborough.
	{ Lord Le Despencer.
1768.	{ Lord Le Despencer.
	{ Earl of Sandwich.

Speaker of the House of Commons.

1761. Sir John Cust, bart. On the 17th of January 1770, he resigned the chair, on account of ill health, and died on the 22d of the same month.
1770. Sir Fletcher Norton, knt.

Master of the Rolls.

1764. Sir Thomas Sewell, knt.

Attorney-General.

1765. Hon. Charles Yorke.
1766. William de Grey, Esq., afterwards Lord Walsingham.

Solicitor-General.

1763. William de Grey, Esq.
1766. Edward Willes, Esq.
1767. Joseph Dunning, Esq., afterwards Lord Ashburnham.
1770. Edward Thurlow, Esq., afterwards Lord Thurlow.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1765. Oct. Earl of Hertford.
1766. .. Earl of Bristol.
1767. Lord Townshend.

Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

1765. Viscount Beauchamp.
1766. Hon. John Augustus Hervey.
1767. Lord Frederick Campbell.
1768. Sir George Macartney, afterwards Lord Macartney.

Deaths in the House of Commons

1761. ... Sir John Glyn, Bart. On the 17th of January 1761, he
 resigned the right, on account of his illness, and
 died on the 22d of the same month.
 1760. ... Sir Frederick Mordaunt, Bart.

Deaths in the House of Lords

1764. ... Sir Thomas Stoughton, Bart.

Deaths in the House of Commons

1766. ... Sir Charles Yorke.
 1766. ... William de Grey, Esq. afterwards Lord Walsingham.

Deaths in the House of Commons

1763. ... William de Grey, Esq.
 1763. ... Edward W. Esq.
 1767. ... Thomas Boscawen, Esq. afterwards Lord Boscawen.
 1768. ... Edward Thynne, Esq. afterwards Lord Thynne.

Deaths in the House of Lords

1762. ... Earl of Hertford.
 1764. ... Earl of Bristol.
 1767. ... Lord Townshend.

Deaths in the House of Commons

1765. ... Viscount Boscawen.
 1766. ... Sir John Augustus Henry.
 1767. ... Lord Frederick Campbell.
 1768. ... Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Mackenzie.

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In Vol. III.

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Earl of Hertford.
Right Honourable William Dowdeswell.
Duke of Rutland.
Earl of Rochford.
Sir Thomas Wroughton.
Reverend Edward Wilson.
Earl of Radnor.
Sir Edward Wilmot.
Lord Cardross, afterwards Earl of Buchan.
James Boswell, Esq.
Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford.
General Burgoyne.

PLATE

XXII. }
XXIII. } GEORGE THE THIRD.

XXIV. CATHERINE THE SECOND,
EMPERESS OF RUSSIA.

XXV. Sir William Draper.
The Right Honourable Charles Townshend.

XXVI. Right Honourable Henry Seymour Conway.
Duke of Grafton.
Earl of Shelburne.

24

Amey Flood Hertford

W^m Dowdeswell

Robert Thomas Wroughton

Edward Wilson ~~Edw~~ E Wilmoth

James Boswell

it is with the utmost
thankfulness that I accept of
this gracious mark of his
Majesty's goodness.

Y^{rs}

I move not a step upon the
continent without seeing the impression
your Lordship's name makes—It is
a touchstone that no German hypocrisy
can resist; J. Burgoyne

Richmond Lodge

July 29. 1876

$\frac{m}{25}$ past Five P.M.

Mr. Pitt,

Have signed

This day the Warrant for arresting you an Earl
 & shall with pleasure receive you in that
 Capacity tomorrow, as well as entrust you with

My Privy Seal; as I know the Earl of Chatham
with zeal & courage give his aid towards destroying
all party distinctions & restoring that subordination
to Government which alone can preserve that
inestimable blessing Liberty, from degenerating
into licentiousness.

George B.

à c^{te} H. Hersteberg

ce 3. d'Avr 1759.

Monsieur

Je suis bien aise d'avoir une occasion de vous
remercier, Monsieur, la part que je prend
à tout ce qui regarde votre Nation, et l'incl
nat ion que j'ai de procurer les avantages,
surtout en Bz. usque, le Bz. usque, les biens naturels
ment intéressés à la prospérité de votre.

Monsieur

De votre Excellence à très affectueux
Catharine.

I beg leave to send you the enclosed
Inscription designed for a Triumphal Pillar in my garden;
As there is no name that can be affixed to it with so
much propriety as Lord Chatham,

William Dargy

I am, My Lord, with the greatest solicitude for
your Lordship's health, & the success of whatever interests
you in the accomplishment of your great plans for
the prosperity & honor of ~~these~~ Kingdoms,

Worshiped.

Your Lordship's most humble
 & Obedient servant
 H. Lowmy

I have the honor to be, my
 dear Lord with the truest esteem
 & Respect

Your most faithful
 & obed. humble servant
 Grafton

I beg leave to subscribe
 myself with true
 esteem Y^r Lordship's
 Faithfull &
 Obed^t servant
 Shelburne

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

HENRY FLOOD, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Dublin, December 31, 1765.]

SIR,

I KNOW not how to apologize for this address, except I may be allowed to offer in excuse the nature of its subject, and the ardour of that admiration which I feel for the virtues and for the

(¹) This celebrated orator was the son of the right honourable Warden Flood, chief justice of the court of king's bench in Ireland. He was born in 1732, and placed, in 1749 or 1750, under the tuition of Dr. Markham, afterwards archbishop of York, at Christ Church, Oxford. He entered the Irish House of Commons in 1759; in 1762, married Lady Frances Beresford, daughter of the Earl of Tyrone; and in 1775, was appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, and a privy-counsellor of both kingdoms. In 1783, he was chosen a member of the British parliament; and in May 1790, brought forward his memorable motion for a reform of the representation; upon which occasion Mr. Fox complimented him by saying, that his plan was the most rational of all that had been produced on the subject. He died in December 1791; bequeathing his estate, after the decease of his wife, to the university of Dublin, for the founding of two professorships,—one for the study of the native Erse or Irish language, the other for the study of Irish antiquities and Irish history; and, “seeing that nothing stimulates to great actions more than great examples,” ordering

abilities of the person to whom it is directed. Having had the honour to have been introduced to your knowledge last winter by a letter from Lord Grandison⁽¹⁾, and having then, in a conversation which I shall ever reflect upon with pride, heard you declare your sentiments upon the particular propriety of a militia law in this country, I determined to take the first opportunity of endeavouring to digest a bill upon that subject, founded on that law which England owes to your wise and patriot perseverance, so far as it seemed

that two annual premiums should be given for the best compositions, in celebration of those great characters who have adorned the world and benefited the human race. But, in May 1793, the will was set aside, after a trial at bar, in the Irish court of exchequer. His public character is thus sketched by Mr. Hardy, in his *Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont*: — “Henry Flood was by far one of the ablest men that ever sat in the Irish parliament. Hamilton’s success as a speaker drew him instantly forward, and his first parliamentary essay was brilliant and imposing. He was a consummate member of parliament; active, ardent, and persevering, his industry was without limits. In advancing, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, driving a question, he was unrivalled. He was in himself an Opposition, and possessed the talent (in political warfare a most formidable one) of tormenting a minister, and every day adding to his disquietude. When attacked, he was always most successful. His taste was not the most correct, and his studied manner was slow, harsh, and austere — the very reverse of Hamilton, whose trophies first pointed the way to Flood’s genius, and whom he avowedly attempted to imitate; but, in skirmishing, in returning with rapidity to the charge, though at first shaken and nearly discomfited, his quickness, his address, his powers of retort and of insinuation, were never exceeded in parliament.”

⁽¹⁾ John, fourth viscount Grandison, in 1721 advanced to the dignity of earl Grandison of Limerick. His lordship died in May 1766, in his eighty-fifth year.

capable of being adapted to this kingdom ; and have obtained leave from the House of Commons accordingly to prepare such a bill.⁽¹⁾

It is unnecessary for me to say, that I should esteem it the greatest honour and felicity of my life, if, amidst the important concerns in which you are engaged, you would permit me, when the bill is printed, to lay at your feet this humble attempt, to which I have been excited by a love for my country, and a reverence for your great example. Far be from me the extravagance to imagine that it could merit your minute consideration ; but if, by the glance of a superior genius, you should perceive that there was nothing impracticable in it, it might perhaps induce an inquiry into its fate, if it should be transmitted to England, and procure its return to this country, if it should not be unworthy of it.

Upon this principle it is that I have presumed so far ; happy if here, or any where, I could have a share in promoting those wise and public-spirited endeavours, which have so deservedly endeared and dignified your name. I have, Sir, the honour to remain, with the profoundest respect,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

HENRY FLOOD.

(1) It appears, by the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, that Mr. Flood presented his bill on the 31st of January. It did not pass into a law ; but the principle was approved of by the public, and produced voluntary armaments.

MR. PITT TO HENRY FLOOD, ESQ.

Hayes, March 15, 1766.

SIR,

THE honour of your most obliging remembrance reached me just as I was leaving Bath ; since which time, much gout, and some business in the House of Commons, have left me but little in condition to write. It is with great satisfaction that I now beg leave to express, though late, the true sense I have of the very flattering sentiments you are so good, Sir, to entertain on the subject of one, who recals with particular pleasure the conversation with which you honoured him at Hayes, on some matters relating to the country where you are ; whose welfare every thinking Englishman will ever consider as his own.

My wishes in general on this head are very sincere, and my sense of the utility of an effectual militia very strong. Zeal without knowledge, or with quite an inadequate one, concerning many particulars of essential importance in a consideration of this nature, might greatly mislead me, were I to hazard a judgment how far the militia laws of England would, with propriety and effect, apply to Ireland. In this circumstance I must only respect and applaud the attempts ; always open to form, upon proper grounds, a final judgment with regard to so important an object. I will only add, that I esteem myself fortunate in receiving so favourable

a mark of your opinion, and that I beg you will be persuaded of the true esteem and consideration with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Bond Street, Monday, past 3 o'clock.

[January 20, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM just come to town with some gouty sensations in my knee, which hinder me from waiting on your Lordship. The object of my journey hither to-day is simply to give you a full account of what passed on Saturday, relative to the message which the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham did me the honour to deliver to me.⁽¹⁾ May I again take a liberty I am ashamed to venture upon so often, which is, to beg the favour of Lord Shelburne to be so good as to call at my lodgings this evening, at any hour most convenient to his Lordship? The earlier I can have the pleasure of seeing you, the more satisfactory to my impatient wishes of conferring with the person I hold most

(1) See Vol. II. p. 371.

essential to any good for this country. I am ever, with truest respect and attachment, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient

affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Tuesday, 4 o'clock. [January 21, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

THE riddle of negotiation is at an end. I have seen Lord Rockingham from the King, and am informed that his Majesty does not judge proper, upon the report of my answers, to have any further proceeding in this matter. I propose going to Hayes to-morrow; my knee much easier, and my heart certainly not heavier, though indeed presaging melancholy things for this country. I beg to return many thanks for your Lordship's goodness in sending me the votes, which are herewith returned. I see the resolution ⁽¹⁾ is not for the *right*. Believe me ever, with the truest respect and attachment,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

(1) The resolution of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts-bay, of the 29th of October, denying the right of the British legislature to tax the colonies.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. PITT.

Hill Street, Monday. [February 24, 1766.]

DEAR SIR,

THOUGH I was very much ashamed to have troubled you lately upon such an ill-grounded tale, it is not through an apprehension of my having lost any degree of your attention by it, that makes me rather write than wait upon you, to tell you the particulars of a conversation I had yesterday, at the French minister's, with Lord Rockingham, very much at his desire; which, upon consideration since, was so distinct, and had so much the appearance of premeditation, that it certainly must have been intended to be communicated directly to you; or else that, as from myself, it should make part of the first conversation you honoured me with; which I look upon as the same thing. But, as I neither gave any opinion, and do profess myself totally unable to form any, and nothing passed which makes it necessary for me to renew the conversation, I think this way of communicating it may be more convenient than desiring to wait on you upon it.

Lord Rockingham said he intended waiting on you on Saturday, but was prevented; that the time was now come, or coming very soon, when something settled was to be formed, if ever, without regard to the Duke of Bedford's party on the one

hand, or Lord Bute's on the other; but that he was glad of an opportunity to tell me where he was under the greatest apprehensions it would hitch, and that all that he could do could not prevent it.

He then stated his own situation in regard to some individuals, whom, though his opinion led him to be almost sure Mr. Pitt would not treat with harshness in new casting the system, and was it only himself that was in question, it could not meet with a moment's doubt, yet he could not, with any content of mind, go into any thing, where they were to be left to what they might call uncertainty: that in regard to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Yorke, though he had reason to believe they might be brought into every thing that was desired, yet it was to be wished, that it should be proposed with a certain degree of regard, and that manner might reconcile men's minds to that which it would be *impossible* ever to force them to.

I observed, or at least thought, he avoided saying whether the seals were to be Mr. Yorke's object, but seemed carefully to adhere to such general terms, upon Mr. Yorke's subject, as I have mentioned. He then spoke of the consequence of offending them, perhaps unnecessarily, in point of numbers in the House of Commons; which I took the liberty of telling him I could not think him serious in mentioning: but, upon the whole, came to this point, that from these reasons, as well as others regarding the King himself, who had

always, since the Duke's death ⁽¹⁾, dwelt upon his not being given up blindfold, that *he was certain*, when they came to go into the King, if nothing previous was settled, it would give his Majesty such advantage, that every thing would be given up, without any thing certain, and a convulsion would follow, which might bring in the late ministry, or no one knew what; while, if they went in united, and in good humour with each other, the King was so hampered by many things that had passed, that, without entering into any consideration of the interior of the court, he must certainly agree to it. ⁽²⁾

He spoke a great deal of the Duke of Grafton, with regard and friendship as a man, but not quite, I thought, as a minister, with that cordiality I could wish. I plainly saw he was convinced the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway would bring things to a crisis. He said he had been told, from those who had heard it from you, that they had acted more as your friends than he had done, at the same time that you could with great sincerity commend his motives. I told him, with great truth, that I had never heard any such distinction.

When he spoke of influence about the King, I could not help saying something, though, as I saw there was little hope of convincing, what I said

(1) The Duke of Cumberland. See Vol. II. p. 329, note.

(2) See, on this point, Mr. Nuthall's "Memorandum of a Conference with Lord Rockingham," vol. ii. p. 397.

was so guarded, that it amounted to nothing ; and as to the rest, my aim was to leave it in general where I found it, assuring him, with great sincerity, that I felt myself totally unable to form any judgment, in the present confusion, that I could mention even in the greatest confidence to you. And I have only to beg, Sir, that you will not interpret my relation of the conversation into any opinion of my own ; which is one among other reasons of my writing it. It is not only such a labyrinth, but a labyrinth so entangled, that I have no faculties which lead me to any understanding of it, or any clue to direct the little judgment I have ; and as to passions, they have some time subsided in regard to it.

Though I believe I have been pretty exact in relating what Lord Rockingham said, yet, as he did not expressly desire it to be communicated, I should be sorry that it made the foundation even of an opinion in your own mind, till you had it from better authority. Though he seemed to me to speak with a manner of decision, yet he may have meant it a manner of negotiation, which I may not understand. At any rate, I have many pardons to ask for troubling you with so long a letter, and in return I will only beg for a very short one, either from you or Lady Chatham, to tell me, I hope, that you are not the worse for sitting up so late in the House. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Pitt, though in a state of great weakness, had, on the preceding Friday, remained in the House of Commons till

I have the honour to be, with the greatest consideration and regard,

Most respectfully yours,

SHELBURNE.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Monday night. [February 24, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

HIGHLY sensible of the honour of your Lordship's very friendly attention in taking the trouble to apprise me of a conversation (certainly meant to be communicated), I beg to assure you of my best acknowledgments, and will, in answer, obey your obliging commands not to enter into much observation upon the matter. I shall confine myself, then, just to say, that Lord Rockingham's plan appears to me to be such as can never bring things to a satisfactory conclusion; his tone being that of a minister, master of the court and of the public, making openings to men who are seekers of offices and candidates for ministry. What his Lordship added of the King not being given up *blindfold*, since the Duke of Cumberland's death, is either totally unintelligible, or if it does really contain any meaning, there is one man who will very shortly set out for Bath after the American affair is over.

two in the morning; when, upon a division of 275 against 167, leave was given to bring in a bill to repeal the American stamp act. See Vol. II. p. 390.

In one word, my dear Lord, I shall never set my foot in the closet, but in the hope of rendering the King's personal situation not unhappy, as well as his business not unprosperous; nor will I owe my coming thither to any court cabal or ministerial connexion. The King's pleasure and gracious commands alone shall be a call to me: I am deaf to every other thing. I will not say more, for I feel I should say too much. The sum of things is, that I am fitter for a lonely hill in Somersetshire, than for the affairs of state. I will at present add no more to your trouble than to say, that I think I perceive your Lordship's sense of this very ministerial discourse without your directly expressing it. A thousand warm thanks for your kind attention to my gout: my foot is more uneasy to-day, but no other part attacked. I am, with truest esteem and respect, your Lordship's,

Most faithful friend,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Harley Street, July 13, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

If you are surprised at receiving a letter from me with this date, I am not less so at being here to write it. I am come by the King's most gracious orders to town, and have attended his

Majesty once at Richmond Lodge. As yet, all stands till Lord Temple comes to town, and his answer to accept or decline the Treasury be final ; in the mean time, is it taking too great a liberty to entreat your Lordship to come to town? Having already occasioned you more than one troublesome journey, I am ashamed to renew such a request ; but the friendship with which your Lordship has so often encouraged me to trouble you, tells me you will pardon my earnest desires to see you, and to receive your lights and confidential opinions in the present crisis. Hoping you will grant this very free request and pardon the freedom, I will add no more than to assure you of the respectful and warm sentiments with which I am ever, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient and

affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

North-end, near Hampstead, Tuesday evening.

[July 22, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

AN unseasonable illness, a fever, has obliged me to leave town somewhat suddenly. I have been blooded to day, and am under other remedies, which I hope will have their effect. In the mean time, I am just able to write this line to express my warm

sense of your friendship and confidence, together with a most anxious impatience to be in a condition to see your Lordship, and confer with you upon the present crisis ; being ever, with truest esteem and respect, my dear Lord's most faithful friend,

And humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Wednesday, 3 o'clock. [July 23, 1766.]

MR DEAR LORD,

BEING obliged, from my present state of health, to get back to the air of North-end to dinner, I can only have the honour to transmit his Majesty's most gracious commands to your Lordship to attend him to-morrow, at twelve, at the Queen's house, by this hasty line, instead of waiting on you in person, to express my joy at the choice the King has made of a secretary of state, every way so advantageous for his Majesty's service, as well as flattering to all my wishes, public and private. Lord Northington, president of the council ; Lord Camden, the great seal ; your humble servant, privy seal. As yet these arrangements are in the King's intentions only. Colonel Barré, vice-treasurer. The fever still continuing in a small degree, together with some fatigue, forbids me to add more. Words

cannot convey my sense of the royal goodness?
I am ever, with affectionate respect, my dear Lord's

Most faithful friend,

and humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT. ⁽¹⁾

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY TO
MR. PITT.

Pall Mall, July 29, 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE this moment seen Mr. Stanley, who seeing in my note that he was to kiss hands to-morrow as *ambassador* to the court of Russia, asked me if it was not ambassador *plenipotentiary* ; to which, as I had not distinctly understood what was his Majesty's pleasure on that head, I could not give an answer. You will be so good, Sir, as to inform me, whether that is as Mr. Stanley understands it ?

Mr. Stanley says he is to be publicly accredited to the King of Prussia ; a circumstance I did not before understand, and must beg leave to submit to your consideration, whether, in the present situation of things, considering the terms we stand upon with the House of Austria, the disposition of the present Emperor, the overtures lately made by M. de Seilern⁽²⁾, and the strong declaration,

(1) For the Earl of Shelburne's reply, see Vol. II. p. 451.

(2) Austrian ambassador at the court of London.

“that any treaty with the court of Berlin would throw them into that closer connexion with France, to which they have been invited,”—whether, on these accounts, the step taken with the court of Berlin should not be as private as possible, till some prospect of success there, and more particularly at the court of Petersbourg, should make it proper to declare ourselves.

I also submit, whether there may not be some little delicacy, as to the point of a public commission, in regard to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

And lastly, Sir, in regard to myself; as in my particular department I have lately given assurances to M. de Seilern, that no negotiation was on foot, or *immediately* thought on with the court of Berlin, whether I can, even before any reply is come to my own answer to the overtures above mentioned, now in the instant hold with M. de Seilern in my situation a language and conduct so different as will now be necessary, if this public step is taken?

As I had but a moment's conversation with you on this head, mixed with a great variety of other matters, and had no other means or opportunity of knowing what was resolved, I beg to suggest to you, Sir, whether some few days given to digest this matter, which to me appears of great importance, and particularly so to myself, might not be allowed, and Mr. Stanley's kissing hands deferred for so long.

I should suppose also, that if Mr. Stanley does kiss hands to-morrow, it would be proper not to

let either Sir George Macartney⁽¹⁾ or Sir Andrew Mitchell be unacquainted with it, by this night's post ; and with regard to the former particularly, I feel a little awkward in acknowledging the receipt of the treaty of commerce concluded, and communicating the intention of his recall in the same letter. ⁽²⁾

(¹) Sir George Macartney was born in Ireland in 1737, and educated at Trinity college, Dublin, where he took the degree of M.A. ; after which he came to London, and entered himself a student of the Middle Temple, where he formed an intimacy with the Burkes, and many other characters then rising into eminence ; having, however, no intention of practising at the bar, he proceeded to the continent. In 1764, through the recommendation of Lord Holland, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Russia ; in 1768, he married Lady Jane Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute ; in 1769, was appointed chief secretary of Ireland ; in 1775, captain-general and governor of the Caribbee islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago ; in 1776, he was raised to the Irish peerage ; in 1780, appointed to the presidency of Madras ; in 1792, sent ambassador to China ; in 1794, raised to the dignity of a British earl ; and in 1797, sent out as governor and captain-general of the Cape of Good Hope ; whence, in 1798, he returned, on account of ill health. He died in 1806.

(²) Immediately on receiving the notification of Mr. Stanley's appointment, Sir George Macartney wrote home to Mr. Conway, to request that his successor might be furnished with very pointed instructions to inform himself of his conduct. "Conscious," he says, "of having acted in all things entrusted to my care, with the utmost integrity, vigilance, and activity ; having exerted every talent which nature and education have given me for the service of my sovereign and the interest of the public ; ambitious only of honest fame, I present myself to every scrutiny, convinced of being able to prove, that no man in my situation could have obtained what I have done." In a letter also to his friend, Mr. William Burke, he says, "To be sure the proceeding is extraordinary to turn a man out, (if I am turned

I am not sure, too, whether some kind of previous communication may not be expected, both in Russia and to her minister here.

Excuse, Sir, this trouble, from the variety of difficulties I have stated, the resolution being so sudden in regard to this ; as I was not apprized till yesterday, in the moment I had the honour to see you, of Mr. Stanley's appointment to Petersburg, nor till this morning of the other circumstance I have mentioned, I could not possibly avoid it. I would have waited upon you, but, as you were still at Hampstead, found my business here absolutely prevented it. The other notices have, I believe,

out,) immediately after he had finished a treaty which had been the object of nine years' negotiation. But some people tell me I am not turned out; no matter: I cannot in honour continue here, whilst Stanley is in Russia, because, in the language of a great minister, 'I should not wish to be responsible for measures which I am not permitted to guide;' or, supposing I met with success in conjunction with him, I should certainly get no thanks for it; for, to borrow the expression of a minister of the Gospel, as I have just now done that of a minister of state, 'when we have done all that we can, we are unprofitable servants;' and what is worse, unprofited too, I assure you. I know at least I have found it so; for, not to speak of the expense of living here, which is very great, I have spent above a thousand pounds of my own money for secret service. This I never mentioned before, nor do I intend to speak of it to the office, though, upon my honour, it is true; but I am above it, and though I have got no thanks for my service, yet, since it has been of use to the public, I do not regret it. I have made very ample collection of every thing relative to this country, and shall, with infinite pleasure, impart to you and Ned all my stores."—See Barrow's *Life of the Earl of Macartney*, vol. i. pp. 32. 412.

all been punctually sent. I am, Sir, with the greatest truth and respect,

Your most humble and
obedient servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

THE RIGHT HON. HANS STANLEY TO MR. PITT.

Admiralty, at 11 o'clock, July 30, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD this morning the honour of a conversation with Mr. Secretary Conway, upon the subject of my commission, and upon the present posture of affairs between our court and those of Petersburg and Berlin. I was extremely concerned to find that we stood upon much colder and worse terms at the latter, than I had conceived upon what passed between yourself and me. Upon my sending him a letter in very general terms, which I thought it would be right to dispatch by to night's post to Sir Andrew Mitchell, I received a note from him, in conjunction with the Duke of Grafton, which gave me a good deal of uneasiness; upon my answer to that note, they did me the honour of coming here.

The result of what passed, in which Mr. Conway entirely agrees with me, is that there is a great risk in compromising the King's honour, by sending an ambassador accredited (though not directly

commissioned to that court) through Berlin, without first knowing from Sir Andrew Mitchell how that step would be there received and approved. As to myself, I confess I should be sorry to take that road, with credentials to be produced, or concealed, according to the humour and temper which I found prevailed there after my arrival, and to meet, with (what, in such circumstances, would be far otherwise essential) the same treatment there which Lord Buckingham did on his return, because I am persuaded that such an incident at my first outset would be attended with disgrace to me, and future very ill consequences to my mission. I conclude, therefore, with Mr. Conway, that if the answer returned from Sir Andrew Mitchell was unfavourable, it would be much wiser, and more expedient, to go directly to Petersburg by sea, and to begin my negotiation there. When you confer with him, I believe you will find very solid foundations for these doubts; and I humbly entreat that they may be considered between you, and the plan of my future proceedings adjusted, before the final step of my having the honour to kiss his Majesty's hands. A short note shall bring me to Harley Street, as early as you think proper to command me.

I am, with the highest respect, dear Sir,

Your very obliged and

most obedient humble servant,

H. STANLEY.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, July 29, 1766.

25 m. past five, p. m.

MR. PITT,

I HAVE signed this day the warrant for creating you an Earl (¹), and shall with pleasure receive you in that capacity to-morrow, as well as entrust you with my privy seal; as I know the Earl of Chatham will zealously give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to Government, which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, Liberty, from degenerating into Licentiousness.

GEORGE R.

(¹) The event was thus announced in the London Gazette of the following evening:—“St. James’s, July 30. The King has been pleased to grant unto the right honourable William Pitt, Esq. and his heirs male, the dignity of a viscount and earl of Great Britain, by the titles of viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, and earl of Chatham, in the county of Kent.” Lord Chesterfield, writing at this time to Mr. Stanhope says, “I wish I could send you all the pamphlets and half-sheets that swarm here upon this occasion; but that is impossible, for every week would make a ship’s cargo. It is certain that Mr. Pitt has, by his dignity of earl, lost the greatest part of his popularity, especially in the city; and I believe the opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail, next session, in the House of Commons; there being now nobody there who can have the authority and ascendant over them that Pitt had.” The noble letter-writer might have borne in mind, that Mr. Pitt was at this time on the verge of sixty; that his constitution was much broken by repeated attacks of the gout, which threatened to render him unfit for the vehement and con-

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DOWDESWELL⁽¹⁾ TO
THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Downing Street, July 31, 1766.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship was so good as to inform me this morning, by his Majesty's permission, that either

tentious eloquence of the House of Commons; and that the custody of the privy seal, which had always been entrusted to a member of the upper house, seemed therefore, on every account, better adapted to his years and infirmities.

(¹) Of Pull-court, in the county of Worcester; which county he at this time represented in parliament. In the preceding short administration, Mr. Dowdeswell had been chancellor of the exchequer and a member of the privy council. He died at Nice in 1775; whither he had gone for the recovery of his health. The following delineation of his character, from the pen of Mr. Burke, forms part of the epitaph on his monument in Bushley church: — "A senator for twenty years, a minister for one, a virtuous citizen for his whole life: a man of unshaken constancy, inflexible integrity, unremitted industry: his mind was generous, open, sincere; his manners plain, simple, and noble; rejecting all sorts of duplicity and disguise as useless to his designs and odious to his nature: his understanding was comprehensive, steady, vigorous, made for the practical business of the state; in debate he was clear, natural, and convincing; his knowledge in all things which concerned his duty profound: he understood beyond, any man of his time, the revenues of his country; which he preferred to every thing except its liberties: he was perfect master of the law of parliament, and attached to its privileges, until they were set up against the rights of the people: all the proceedings which have weakened government, endangered freedom, and distracted the British empire, were by him strenuously opposed; and his last efforts, under which his health sunk, were to preserve his country from a civil war, which, being unable to prevent, he had not the misfortune to see."

the first seat at the board of trade, or a joint paymaster's place, was at my service, if I thought proper to accept it. Your Lordship also wished to have my answer in the course of this day. I should hardly have found it possible, in so short a time, to have taken a resolution in a matter, the importance of which I feel so strongly; but the Duke of Grafton having, on Tuesday last, opened his Majesty's intentions towards me, as far as his Grace was then authorised to do, I have had time sufficient to collect, in my own mind, all that I think could occur upon the most mature consideration.

I must therefore, in the first place, beg your Lordship to assure his Majesty of the unfeigned zeal I have for his service, and of my gratitude for his Majesty's great kindness to me; but, with infinite concern, I am obliged to beg your Lordship to entreat his Majesty's permission, that I may decline accepting either of these offers.

Your Lordship will, at the same time, give me leave to thank you for the very obliging manner in which you expressed your wishes that I might again enter into his Majesty's service, and of the perfect regard and esteem with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

WILLIAM DOWDESWELL.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, August 1, 1766.

5 m. past nine, p. m.

MY LORD,

UPON the whole, I am glad the treaty of commerce with Russia is thought not improper, as it would have disgusted that court much, if it had not been accepted on the foot they have, though reluctantly, submitted to.

I am surprised Mr. Dowdeswell has declined both the offices proposed to him. I shall be by eleven at the Queen's house on Sunday, when I shall wish to hear your ideas with regard to the board of trade. ⁽¹⁾

Mr. Yorke this day resigned his employment, but appeared more placid than on Monday. I desired Lord Northington yesterday to desire the chancellor to be with me after the drawing-room on Sunday, that he may appoint the new attorney and solicitor⁽²⁾ to kiss hands on Wednesday ; for the

⁽¹⁾ The office of paymaster-general was divided into two employments, and given to Lord North and Mr. George Cooke, the member for Middlesex ; and the Earl of Hillsborough succeeded Lord Dartmouth at the board of trade. In a letter of this date to Sir Andrew Mitchell, Lord Barrington writes, " I hope the board of trade will be restored to Hillsborough, who will certainly execute it better than any other man living."

⁽²⁾ Mr. De Grey was, on the 5th, made attorney-general, and Mr. Edward Willes, solicitor-general. On the same day, Sir John Eardley Wilmot, one of the judges of the king's bench, was appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas, in the

filling up offices as soon as possible after they are vacated shows decision in administration, that gives a good impression to the public.

GEORGE R.

room of Lord Camden. Mr. Wilmot, in his memoir of his excellent parent, states, that in the evening of that day, Sir Eardley thus addressed him: — “ Now, my son, I will tell you a secret worth your knowing and remembering: the elevation I have met with in life, particularly this last instance of it, has not been owing to any superior merit or abilities, but to my humility, and to an uniform endeavour to pass through life void of offence to God and man.” In the same interesting piece of biography, we find the following lively picture of the new ministry, in a letter, written on the 2nd of August, by Sir Robert Wilmot, secretary to the lord chamberlain, to his brother the new chief justice: —

“ The curtain is now drawn up: the actors are coming upon the stage. I understand you have a part, which, though not your own choice, has been assigned to you in so distinguished, so honourable a manner, that you certainly ought, cheerfully, graciously, and gratefully, to accept it. 'T is a duty which you owe to the King, to your friends, to your family, to yourself; and the duty required is neither hard nor unprofitable. You come in without terms, conditions, stipulations of any kind. It is presumed you will do your duty (and nothing more is required); and always, when called upon, give your advice in council, according to the rectitude of what shall be proposed, and not with a ministerial warp, which scandalises the man. You will, at all events, be a permanent pillar, though the new ministry, as it probably will, topple down; for Lord Bath has risen from the dead, and has drawn the thorns out of the feet of every competitor, and has stuck them into those of his friends; and when the ball comes to be tossed up again, as every body thinks it must, and a new match played, the lame ones must lag behind. One set of men are thoroughly united; another, whom artifice has severed and set at variance, may now, and will, if they be not infatuated, piece again; and the number and strength of the new comers do not seem sufficient to carry away the ball

THE REV. EDWARD WILSON⁽¹⁾ TO THE COUNTESS
OF CHATHAM.

Weymouth, August 2, 1766.

MADAM,

I CANNOT omit the earliest opportunity of informing your Ladyship, that your letter this morning was a most agreeable surprise to us all; and as compliments of congratulation will now universally be the testimonies of sincere joy, permit me to congratulate your Ladyship on the present happy change, which will undoubtedly reflect the greatest honour on our country, give perfect satisfaction to the nation in general, and once more enliven the English annals. I beg my most respectful compliments to the Earl of Chatham; I most heartily wish him health long to enjoy that title, and then I have no doubt of its being equally

from both. Lord Northington has secured to himself four thousand a year for his life, when he ceases to be president. The Duke of Grafton hates business, and will soon be weary of the treasury; Charles Townshend thinks himself injured by having the chancellorship of the exchequer crammed down his throat; the Duke of Portland, by the advice and at the earnest request of his friends, for the present holds the staff. In short, the city have brought in their verdict of *felo-de-se* against William, Earl of Chatham."

(¹) Mr. Wilson was the private tutor of Lord Chatham's children. He was of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; whither, in 1773, he accompanied his pupil, the future prime minister of England. He was subsequently canon of Windsor, prebendary of Gloucester, and, for more than thirty years, rector of Binfield, in Berkshire; where he died in 1804.

honoured with the name of Mr. Pitt; greater honour cannot be.

My Lord Pitt is much better, Lady Hester quite well, and Mr. William very near it. The last gentleman is not only contented in retaining his papa's name, but perfectly happy in it. Three months ago he told me, in a very serious conversation, "he was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa." I am, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged

and obedient servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

SIR EDWARD WILMOT, BART.⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Nottingham, August 5, 1766.

MY LORD,

GIVE me leave, on my return from the frontiers of the other world, with a tottering hand but from

⁽¹⁾ This eminent physician, the son of Robert Wilmot of Chaddesden, in the county of Derby, was born in 1693. He married one of the daughters of Dr. Mead, and was made physician to Queen Caroline, and to Frederick, Prince of Wales. After the Queen's death, he was appointed one of the physicians to George the Second and physician-general to the forces, and in 1759 was created a baronet. On the accession of George the Third he retired from practice; and at the date of this letter, being then in his seventy-third year, he was residing at Nottingham; where his house was much resorted to by multitudes of the poor of that place, as well as from his native

a sincere heart, to congratulate your Lordship and my country on your being again at the helm; whither the voice of your country has long called you. How God will dispose of me I know not. Be that as it may, I shall leave the world without regret, now I find my children secure of their small property, liberty, and religion, under your wise administration.

I pray God grant your Lordship health, long life, and prosperity. I am, with the greatest respect and attachment, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most devoted humble servant,

E. WILMOT.

Give me leave to present my most respectful compliments and congratulations to the countess.

county of Derby, to whom he gave advice gratis. At the age of seventy-seven, however, finding the climate rather too cold for his years and constitution, he went, as he said, to spend the remainder of his days with his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Williams, at Herringstone, near Dorchester; where he continued to correspond with his relation, John Eardley Wilmot, son of the lord-chief-justice, with all the vigour and sprightliness of youth, till within a few months of his death; which happened in 1786, when he had completed his ninety-third year. Dr. William Heberden, in his Commentaries on the History and Cure of Diseases, says of him, "that very ingenious and learned physician, Sir Edward Wilmot, told me, that when he was a youth he was so far gone in a consumption, that the celebrated Dr. Ratcliffe, whom he consulted, gave his friends no hopes of his recovery," yet he lived to be above ninety; and this has been the case with some others who had many symptoms of consumption in youth."—See Life of Sir Eardley Wilmot, p. 56.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO SIR ANDREW MITCHELL.

London, August 8th, 1766.

(Private and most secret.)

MY DEAR SIR,

MR. CONWAY'S office letter ⁽¹⁾ will have informed you of the advice the King's servants have most

⁽¹⁾ The following is a copy of Mr. Conway's letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The original is among the Mitchell papers in the British Museum:—

“ St. James's, August 8, 1766.

“ SIR,

“ I HAVE it in command from his Majesty to inform you, that his Majesty, being convinced that nothing can tend so effectually to secure the continuation of the present general tranquillity as the forming such a firm and solid system in the North, as may prove a counterbalance to the great and formidable alliance framed by the House of Bourbon on the basis of the family compact; and considering a connection of Great Britain with the two great crowns of Russia and Prussia as the natural foundation of such a system, has been pleased to appoint Mr. Stanley his ambassador extraordinary to the court of Petersburg; who will be instructed to act in communication with you, and in order to that, will have his Majesty's commands to pass through Berlin, there to confer fully and freely with you on the most effectual means of bringing this great and salutary plan to the desired conclusion: and, that he may be enabled to do it more effectually, will have credentials to his Prussian Majesty, so as, in concurrence with you, to settle the proper measures to be pursued in the progress of this affair; in which the intimate knowledge you possess of the state of that court where you reside, and of the dispositions and views of his Prussian Majesty, will be of the most essential service. But as you are thoroughly acquainted with the coldness that has lately reigned between the courts of London and Berlin, and have been witness to the extreme backwardness his Prussian Majesty has shown towards any ideas of a more intimate connection with this

humbly submitted to his Majesty : these few lines (written by the King's order, and which his Majesty sees) will apprise you more effectually than volumes, of his Majesty's royal purpose to establish a firm and solid system for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. In this great view, the King has been graciously pleased, by my most humble advice, to appoint Mr. Stanley, your friend and mine (whose abilities for this important work point him out with distinction), his ambassador to the court of Russia.

The object of his mission is so clearly and

court, you will not wonder that his Majesty, previous to the sending Mr. Stanley and to beginning any actual negotiation, is desirous to know whether this most friendly step taken by his Majesty, is viewed with pleasure by the King of Prussia.

“ After giving, therefore, in the most confidential manner, the plan proposed by his Majesty to the King of Prussia, and thereby giving his Prussian Majesty the strongest proof of his Majesty's inclination to act on terms of the most cordial union, you will, as soon as may be, for his Majesty's information, report to me in what manner these overtures have been received, and will accompany the same with such intelligence or observations as appear to you material for throwing the fullest lights on this interesting and important business, and as may be a direction for the further prosecuting it with effect.

“ To you, Sir, who are so entirely master of all that relates to this subject, it will be little necessary to add any more. You are, in general at least, informed of the obstructions which the treaty of alliance with Russia, so long since proposed, has met with; and if, by means of the mode of negotiation in this new form, that object can be attained, *you*, Sir, who will be a chief instrument in promoting it, will deserve, and undoubtedly obtain, the highest approbation and applause.”

with such precision (as to the outline) marked in the minute of the cabinet⁽¹⁾ transmitted to you by Mr. Conway), that I do not trouble you with the repetition of it. I will only observe, my dear Sir, to a discernment like yours, that the intended journey of the King's ambassador to Russia, by way of Berlin, with a credential to the King of Prussia, in order to open (in concert and conjunction with you) the whole plan to his Prussian Majesty, before any opening of it be made to the court of Petersburg, is a step of such decision and confidence, on the part of his Majesty, as cannot fail to make deep impressions on the mind of that clear-sighted monarch, the King of Prussia, if he be in the least inclined towards this great work. The King, on his part, assuredly wishes it; but his Majesty wishes it, like a great King of Great Britain, *salvâ majestate*. If his Prussian Majesty meets, on his part, the King's favourable dispositions, I see before us a happy prospect of durable tranquillity; and this momentous affair, like most great things, would immediately proceed with little formality,

(1) The following is a copy of the said minute: — "Resolved, that his Majesty be advised to take the proper measures for forming a triple defensive alliance, for the maintaining of the public tranquillity, in which the crown of Great Britain, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia to be the original contracting parties; with provision for inviting to accede thereto the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, and the States General, together with such of the German or other powers as the original contracting parties shall agree upon, and as are not engaged in the family compact of the House of Bourbon."

and abundance of substance and real mutual confidence.

More words upon this important matter are totally useless. I will only add, that you are to make such use of this letter with his Prussian Majesty, as you shall judge most conducive to the great object of it. Your own perfect knowledge of that court, your zeal, ability, and address are the best instructions. My heart is in this arduous business, so highly for the King's dignity and repose, and yours, I know, will go with ardour along with it. The conjunction of the King's ambassador, as he passes, I am persuaded, will cause no uneasy sensation in a mind composed like yours.

I am ever, with unalterable esteem and warm affection, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend,

and obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Knightsbridge, August 8, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE unhappiness which I am well informed the honour his Majesty intends me will create to my friend Lord Ligonier, who I find intends paying his respects to your Lordship this morning, to express

his feelings upon this occasion, will excuse, I hope, my troubling your Lordship with again expressing my most real and earnest wish, that I might be left in my present situation : for many reasons, my dear Lord, it would make me more happy to remain as I am, at least for the present. The honour I have for your Lordship, the friendship which I hope ever to maintain, and the fixed and determined part I have taken to support the administration formed under your Lordship's direction, embolden me earnestly to request your Lordship (contrary, I know, to your own ideas), to let the intention of my being appointed commander-in-chief drop, at least for the present, and that your Lordship would be so kind as to speak to his Majesty for that purpose.

Excuse, my dear Lord, the liberty I have taken ; and believe me to be, with the truest respect and honour, my dear Lord,

Your most affectionate
and faithful humble servant,

GRANBY. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Lord Granby, at this time master-general of the ordnance, was, on the 13th, made commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's land-forces in Great Britain. The non-appointment of Lord Ligonier, now in his eightieth year, gave great offence to Lord Chesterfield. "It was cruel," exclaims the earl, "to put such a boy as Lord Granby over the head of old Ligonier ; and if I had been the former, I would have refused that command, during the life of that honest and old general." In the following month, the gallant octogenarian was created an English earl, and presented with a pension of 1,500*l.* a year for the remainder

THE REV. EDWARD WILSON TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Weymouth, August 16, 1766.

MADAM,

ALL my pupils merit the highest commendations, and are undoubtedly altogether the most delightful set that any man could ever boast of. My Lord and I went on Tuesday to Abbotsbury to see a very large swannery and decoy of Lord Ilchester's⁽¹⁾, where a Mr. Trenchard, who was formerly a captain of a merchantman, without knowing who we were, very kindly joined us, showed us every thing that was curious in the neighbourhood, and would have treated us with every thing he had in his house. At our coming away we gave him an invitation to Weymouth, and yesterday he brought a present of a dish of fish, and invited the whole family to see Abbotsbury, and to dine with him. The reason of my mentioning this affair is to acquaint your Lady-

of his life. At the time of his decease, which took place in 1770, he was field-marshal of the royal forces, a privy councillor, and a colonel of the first regiment of the foot-guards. A monument in Westminster Abbey records the various actions in which he bore a distinguished part.

(¹) "A little west of the town is a noble swannery, much visited by strangers. In the open or broad part of the fleet are kept six or seven hundred swans, formerly fifteen hundred, or as some say, seven or eight thousand, including hoppers, or a small species of swan, which feed and range and return home again. The royalty belonged originally to the abbot; since, to the family of the Strangeways; and now, to the Earl of Ilchester." — *Hutchins's Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 280.

ship with the following anecdote of Mr. William. The captain had entertained him so much with a lecture on navigation and the anatomy of a ship, that Mr. William, entirely of his own accord, pressed him to stay all night, told him we had beds enough, and to prevent Mrs. Trenchard's being under any uneasy apprehension, he undertook to send a servant directly and inform her of it. All this he delivered with so good a grace and in such elegant language, without the least hesitation, that the captain was struck dumb with astonishment, and even Mr. Johnson and I, who have seen so much of him, were very nearly in the same situation. ⁽¹⁾ I would have given any thing in the world that your Ladyship had been a witness to it; for in the repetition it is impossible to do him justice. I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged

and most obedient servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

⁽¹⁾ "Though a boy in years and appearance," says Dr. Tomline, "Mr. Pitt's manners were formed, and his behaviour manly. He mixed in conversation with unaffected vivacity, and delivered his sentiments with perfect ease, equally free from shyness and flippancy, and always with strict attention to propriety and decorum. Lord Chatham, who could not but be aware of the powers of his son's mind and understanding, had encouraged him to talk without reserve upon every subject, which frequently afforded opportunity for conveying useful information and just notions of persons and things. When his Lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children, and seldom without reading a chapter of the Bible with them." — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 4.

THE RIGHT HON. HANS STANLEY TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Paulton's, August 19, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

SINCE I had the honour of seeing you, I have employed myself in perusing, comparing, and making proper extracts of the several dispatches from Petersburg, as well as in considering the very slight communications which have as yet been received from Berlin.

The result of my reading and meditation has been, that the court of Russia⁽¹⁾, situated at a great

(1) The following sketch of the situation of affairs at this time at the court of St. Petersburg, is from a private letter written by Sir George Macartney to Sir Andrew Mitchell, on the 22nd of July: —

“I now resume my pen, to give you an outline of the state of affairs at this court. M. Panin is the chief, if not the sole, minister here; no deliberation is held, no resolution taken, without him: every thing here, both foreign and domestic, passes through his hands. He is certainly an uncorrupted man; and though not without many faults, such as pride, inflexibility, and procrastination, he is, in my opinion, by far the properest person in this country for the great employment with which he is honoured.

“Prince Gallitzkin, the vice-chancellor, is extremely polite and well-bred; but has neither inherited great talents from nature, nor taken much pains to cultivate those few which she gave him. He was several years envoy in England; but I do not look upon him as hearty in his good wishes towards it. Happily for us, he has but little credit, and is a minister rather of parade than of confidence; for M. Panin, being governor of the Great Duke, is lodged in the palace, and being often obliged to attend upon his person, which service puts it out of his

distance from the southern powers, possessed of no colonies, and having little trade or navigation, consider themselves as more secure from dangers of every kind, than any other state in Europe; that they have long held a very haughty and inflexible language to Great Britain, and have declined every reasonable advance on our side, insisting absolutely

power to give entertainments, or to perform the honours of a first minister, so that task naturally falls to the vice-chancellor.

“The Empress herself is a most extraordinary woman, and an example of application and instruction, and is infinitely superior to any of her subjects. Count Orloff is her chief favourite, and seems lately to have taken a resolution worthy of a much wiser man; which is, to meddle very little in public affairs, not at all in foreign, but quietly to enjoy his good fortune and present happiness.

“You are already acquainted with the political system of this court; which is to form a strong and solid combination amongst the powers of the North, sufficient to counterbalance the dangerous union of the courts of Madrid and Bourbon; for this purpose, the empress of Russia concluded a treaty of alliance with his Prussian Majesty, in March 1765. She has very effectually cooperated with us in overturning the French influence in Sweden, and has proposed to the court of Denmark, that they should change their system, and instead of depending on France, as they have done for several years past, attach themselves to our interest, united with other great powers of the North. M. Panin expresses the strongest desire of entering into the strictest engagements and most intimate friendship with us; convinced that his plan can neither be solid nor perfect, if Great Britain be not a partner to it. The project of a defensive alliance between the two courts was long since transmitted to London, and, except in one article, seemed to be very agreeable to the king and his ministers. Russia insists that the *casus fœderis* shall extend to a Turkish war, which is a point our court declares inadmissible, and the affair rests so at present; but you may depend on the better judgment of the Russian minister’s sentiments on this affair.”—*Mitchell MSS.*

upon their own terms, which must continue inadmissible. I shall add, that as that empire is now entirely at the head of affairs in the North, she seems very little to want our assistance (even were we able to afford it her) in any matters which may arise in that quarter. I therefore confess I can discern very few means and springs of action, by which we can operate there with effect: I must likewise do my predecessors the justice to say, that with regard to this alliance, his Majesty has been very well served, and nothing has been left untried by them.⁽¹⁾ If I had gone immediately to Petersburg, my mission would have been as fruitless as theirs.

My review of the correspondence likewise convinces me clearly, that (exclusive of the French party) the old political system of a close connection with the House of Austria, as being advantageous to them in disputes with the Turks (to which object they seem much to attend) is not eradicated, and will in time acquire greater force, if the present

⁽¹⁾ In a letter, written to Mr. William Burke on the 24th of August, Sir George Macartney says,—“I must beg that proper instructions may be given to Mr. Stanley, to inform himself in the most particular manner of my conduct here as a minister, and especially whether what I say of M. Panin’s yielding to the treaty merely from personal friendship to me be true or not. Stanley is a man of honour, and will nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice; and his report, I will venture to say, will be, that no man ever served his king and country with greater zeal, nor with a more unblemished reputation, than I have done.”

opportunity should be lost. The King of Prussia, by his conduct in the affairs of Poland, Courland, Holstein, &c. seems to have given stability to the alliance formed between him and the late Emperor, although some differences and coolnesses have, from time to time, arisen. He appears hitherto to have desired, even with jealousy, to reserve that connection exclusively to himself, and to have remained almost continually indisposed towards Great Britain. In September last, his minister Count Solmes told Sir George Macartney, with whom he has been at constant variance, that, "if Russia had any intention of concluding a treaty with us, and admitting an exception for Turkey, he had orders from his master to oppose it in the strongest manner."

I agree with you therefore totally, my Lord, in concluding, that the only practicable road towards a happy issue in this negotiation must be opened and smoothed by the court of Berlin; and as a triple alliance is in his Majesty's intentions, I am of opinion, that every essential article of the proposed treaty having been previously well considered here, must, in the next place, be digested and concerted with his Prussian Majesty, and must also have his support, by proper instructions to his minister at Petersburg.

If the answer from Sir Andrew Mitchell be such as we have reason to hope, I humbly submit, that no time should be lost in preparing the outlines of that treaty; which will, I think, be most likely to succeed, if it be formed upon the plan of those

engagements which now actually subsist between Russia and Prussia, with such alterations and exceptions as our situation requires.

It cannot however be expected, that the latter will use her offices in our behalf, if she is thereby to depart from advantages already conceded, nor that she will contribute to our admission upon terms of too great inequality: therefore the reciprocal subsidy of 600,000 rubles per annum, contained in the thirteenth article, and left by both the contracting powers as an option to the party attacked in lieu of the forces stipulated, is an eventual condition which will claim your attention, since I am persuaded that an alternative of this kind will be positively insisted upon by both courts. I mention this, because I recollect that in the conversation with which your Lordship honoured me, quotas of troops only came in question.

These ideas, though very crudely thrown out, will I dare say appear to your Lordship the result of the intelligence contained in the papers sent me by the secretary of state, when you have the leisure to examine the purport of them. I have the honour to be, with the highest sentiments of esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

H. STANLEY.

GENERAL BURGOYNE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Dresden, August 21, 1766.

MY LORD,

THE letter I had the honour to receive from your Lordship at the time I left England, together with one inclosed for Prince Ferdinand⁽¹⁾, required a warmer return of acknowledgement than I could find terms to make; and that debt has been increased by the reception so distinguishing a mark of your Lordship's countenance procured me at the court of Brunswick: but however flattering or advantageous have been the effects, my Lord, of your friendship, it is in the possession of it that I exult; and not to wrong my feelings, I must still trust to the conceptions of a great and benevolent mind, and not to my own feeble expression, to represent that respect, that gratitude, and that zeal, with which I solicited, with which I embrace, and with which I study to cultivate those sentiments your Lordship professes towards me.

I entreat you, my Lord, to accept my congratulations upon your peerage and upon your engaging in the administration, as those of a man who takes the truest interest in every thing that concerns your glory and satisfaction, and who looks up to your lights and counsels for the salvation of his country. I move not a step upon the continent without seeing the impression your

(¹) See Vol. II. p. 432, note.

Lordship's *name* makes. ⁽¹⁾ It is a touchstone that no German hypocrisy can resist ; and the con-

⁽¹⁾ In a letter, written at the Hague on the 29th of August, Sir Joseph Yorke thus addresses Sir Andrew Mitchell : — “ I hope, whatever other effects it may produce, the late political turn in England will make your old residence, newly revived, more agreeable than when you undertook it ; at least we are told that the late Great Commoner is uniform in his Prussian system. I know very little of home, except that party runs very high as usual, and that the present plan is still too narrow for our present political faculty. However, if Mr. Pitt has a mind, and keeps his temper, I think he may keep his power, and nobody is so able to do us good ; because nobody has so much courage to carry any thing through. The great struggle which will determine future power in the issue, will be probably at the next general election ; and all that is doing just now seems calculated for that period, all sides striving to destroy the other's popularity before the dissolution of this parliament. Luckily France and Spain are unable to commence a war, and their fear of Mr. Pitt's entry into the ministry is quite ridiculous. I really believe his *very name* will settle the Manilla affair ; and France presses it strongly.” To the speculations of his correspondent, Sir Andrew thus replies : — “ I cannot yet guess what effect the late changes in our administration will have upon the King of Prussia, not having had an opportunity of seeing him since that happened. Considering the instability of our men and measures at home, I shall not be surprised if his Prussian majesty should be shy of entering into strict connections with us ; at least till he sees some probability of a fixed and settled administration, which I am afraid the universal clamour against the late Great Commoner will make him think is not near at hand. Though I have a very high opinion of Mr. Pitt's courage and abilities, I cannot figure to myself any solid reason that could induce him to accept of the peerage at this time, which, joined to the malice of his enemies, has afforded an opportunity of diminishing his popularity at home, and thereby of weakening his credit and influence abroad. If Spain will agree to pay the Manilla ransom, it may, in some degree, serve to revive his popularity ; but I fear it will not regain that implicit confidence they formerly had in him. Be-

versation of every court, upon the present arrangement in England, betrays their disposition towards us.

Together with those who partake in the satisfaction of the friends of Great Britain and of your Lordship, there are not wanting those who are industrious to propagate the malevolence of our party writers : for the prejudices and the follies of our country are dispersed through the world, with every wind that blows ; and what is made use of at home, to embroil and disunite every class of the people, is retailed at second-hand abroad, and serves, as far as our enemies can make it do so, to depreciate and disfigure his Majesty's measures. But these are only the vapours of an hour, and they will fly like those which have often attended, but never obscured, the lustre of your Lordship's conduct.

Able and vigilant as is his Majesty's minister at Berlin, it would be very impertinent in me to mention my observations upon the present policy or occupations of that court. The circumstances which have particularly engaged my reflections as a soldier, I shall communicate to your Lordship,

sides, I am really concerned to see so many of the principal leaders of the Whig party retiring from business, which obliges our late Commoner to build upon a very narrow and uncertain bottom ; but this may, and I hope will, be remedied before the election of a new parliament. Had he delayed taking the title till that event, I think every thing might have gone on smoothly."

— *Mitchell MSS.*

if I have the honour to be admitted to your conversation at my return.

Since my arrival at Dresden, I have been confirmed in what I had before reason to believe relative to a meeting proposed between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, during the journey of his Imperial Majesty in Saxony. The one was desirous of a personal interview to gratify his curiosity ; the other to penetrate into the real character of a young monarch who, if what is reported of his talents, his application, and his ambition, be true, will soon become a principal object of the attention of Europe. The Empress prevented the meeting. ⁽¹⁾ Distant and transient as

(1) The following account of what really took place, with regard to the intended meeting of the two monarchs, is taken from Sir Andrew Mitchell's letters to Mr. Conway :—

“Berlin, June 14.—I have learnt from good authority, that the King of Prussia, upon hearing that the Emperor intended to come into Saxony, under pretence of visiting some of the fields of battle during the late war, particularly that of Torgau, has proposed to have an interview with the Emperor. Whether this proposal may be agreeable to his Imperial Majesty I very much doubt, as I believe nothing of this sort was expected when he left Vienna ; and the insinuation has been made to the Emperor's minister here, as I am informed, only three days ago, who has given notice to his court, but, in the present strict connection that court stands in with that of Versailles, a step of this kind cannot fail to give jealousy and suspicion to France ; and perhaps this may be the chief reason why an interview has been proposed by the King of Prussia at this time, and it may likewise serve to impose upon the court of Russia (with whom there has been some coldness), as if his Prussian Majesty was making advance to the court of Vienna ; in which, if he suc-

must be the view I can expect to take of this prince, I cannot resist the desire I have to see him. I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, attachment, and sense of obligation,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
J. BURGOYNE.

ceeded, his alliance with the Empress of Russia would be of less importance."

"July 8. — As the intended interview between the young Emperor and the King of Prussia did not take place, his Prussian Majesty sent Count Kameke, on the 26th of June, from Potsdam to Torgau, with compliments to the Emperor, who, I hear, behaved with great affability in all the places he passed through, and affected much simplicity of dress and manners, avoiding all sorts of pomp and ceremony as much as possible. One circumstance I cannot help mentioning, which is, that his Imperial Majesty, in order to view the fields of battle and remarkable encampments during the last war in Saxony and Lusatia, with as little inconvenience and parade as possible, had a number of dragoon horses led by the escort that attended him; upon which he and his retinue were mounted, as occasion required. What would the Emperor Leopold, or even Charles the Sixth, say, if they could be informed of the novelty, hitherto unprecedented in their family?"

"July 12. — In the conversation I had with the King of Prussia at Sans Souci, he threw out, as if it had been accidentally, that he had once thought of meeting the Emperor in the neighbourhood, but the diffidence of princes to one another prevented such interviews; and he mentioned the visit paid by the Emperor Charles the Fifth to Francis the First. As I saw his Prussian Majesty had no mind to tell what had passed on the late occasion, I thought it best to appear quite ignorant and uninformed; but I could easily perceive he was hurt with the disappointment, though he endeavoured to conceal it from me."

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

(*Secret.*)

Berlin, August 21, 1766.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Lordship's *secret* letter of the 8th, by Lambe the messenger, acquainting me with his Majesty's royal purpose to establish a firm and solid system, for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. In my letter to Mr. Secretary Conway of this date, I have explained at length the reasons that induce me neither to write to, nor to follow his Prussian Majesty into Silesia. ⁽¹⁾ It

⁽¹⁾ In the letter here referred to, Sir Andrew, after stating the embarrassment into which he had been thrown by the absence of the King of Prussia, proceeds to relate what had passed in his mind on this occasion. "After reading," he says, "your dispatch with the greatest attention, the first thought that occurred to me was to write directly to the King of Prussia, but, upon trial, I found it so extremely difficult, that I despaired of being able to execute it to my own satisfaction; for I believe it next to impossible to make such insinuations by letter, as may be naturally and easily thrown out in conversation. The next thought that started was immediately to follow the King of Prussia into Silesia, and there to communicate by word of mouth to him the contents of your letter; but to this two objections arose in my mind, which I take leave humbly to submit to your judgment. The first is, the little time that would thereby be saved, as there is hardly any possibility of being able to meet with his Prussian Majesty (who travels with the greatest velocity) in less than fifteen days, being informed that he intends to visit the county of Glatz, Neisse, and other strong places in Silesia, before the reviews and encampments of the troops in that province begin. The second objection which, I confess, weighs more with me than the first, is, that from the knowledge I have of that monarch's temper, I would

is needless, therefore, to repeat them, though I flatter myself they will be approved of by your Lordship.

The nomination of Mr. Stanley as his Majesty's ambassador to the court of Russia, and his journey by the way of Berlin, in order to open the whole plan to that monarch, before any overture has been made to the court of Petersburg, is a mark of such confidence on the part of his Majesty, as I hope will make suitable impressions on the mind of his Prussian Majesty; and I am firmly of opinion, that if that monarch will but reflect coolly and deliberately on his own situation, unallied, surrounded with jealous enemies, dreaded, but not beloved in the empire, he will plainly see, that nothing can tend so much to his security, nor towards the establishing and perpetuating of that weight and influence he has acquired in Europe, as a hearty and sincere concurrence in this noble plan, proposed by his Majesty for a triple alliance, which will secure

not choose to open a matter of such moment in an abrupt manner; nor when his mind is employed in military occupations, which so totally possess him during their continuance, as to draw off all his attention to every thing else. Besides, a journey undertaken by me into Silesia so suddenly, and in the present situation of affairs, could not fail to alarm the foreign ministers at this court, and perhaps to discover what I conclude, from your despatch, is still a secret. For these considerations, I have resolved to wait with patience the return of his Prussian Majesty to Potsdam, when I shall ask an audience, in which I shall endeavour to obey, with the greatest punctuality, the instructions contained in your letter, or any commands I may receive from his Majesty before that time."

peace upon a solid basis to the present age, and afford a prospect of tranquillity to the next.

How far the impressions the King of Prussia has received of the fickleness and unsteadiness of our government, may influence him to be shy with regard to entering into any engagements with Great Britain, I cannot venture to conjecture, as he has never opened himself to me upon that head; but if, from these motives, any such aversion should appear, I shall do the best in my power to endeavour to remove them; and where I fail, I hope Mr. Stanley's superior abilities will succeed. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and the most sincere affection, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
and most humble servant,
ANDREW MITCHELL.

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

*(Private: for your
Lordship only.)*

Berlin, August 21, 1766.

MY LORD,

UPON my arrival here, I took the earliest opportunity of making your Lordship's compliments to the King of Prussia, which were extremely well received; and he desired me to take the first proper occasion of assuring you of his esteem and friend-

ship, as well as of the sense he had of your constant attachment and regard for him ; and he concluded with saying, that he hoped your Lordship would again be prevailed upon to take a share in government. I told him freely, that I thought that period near at hand. The event has justified my prediction, and I hope his Prussian Majesty will be more tractable and pliant whilst you are at the head of the administration. The high opinion he has of your Lordship's honour and probity cannot fail to create a confidence, which may be greatly useful to the public.

The duty of my station, as well as the affection I bear to you as a friend, oblige me to disclose to you some of the weaknesses of my *Hero*. Great men have their failings ; if they had none, they would be too much for humanity. His is that of vanity, and a desire, on every occasion, to have the lead, or at least to seem to have it. The first might be dangerous ; the second, I mean the appearance of leading, may be yielded with advantage, in order to draw him into such measures as are really for his interest, but without shocking his vanity.

To apply what I have said to the present case. Though I most heartily approve of the nomination of my friend Mr. Stanley, I could have wished that it had been kept *in petto*, till the King of Prussia had been consulted. I cannot doubt of his having approved of it, and that this mark of attention might have induced him to concur more readily

in the great plan proposed. Besides, as that prince is naturally of a suspicious temper, he may imagine (notwithstanding all the assurances that can be given to the contrary), that Great Britain and Russia have already concerted this alliance between them without his participation, and that they mean to force him into it. If he should unhappily see it in this light, he will either not enter into it, or if he does, he will never abide by it.

Another circumstance which may serve to indispose him I shall mention to your Lordship, and to you *only*; which is, that the nomination of an ambassador to the court of Russia, who is only to call upon him *en passant*, may make him jealous of the preference given to that court; for though upon some occasions he laughs at all formalities, no man is more tenacious of them in whatever he thinks touches his rank, dignity, and consideration.

I like extremely your maxim of *salvâ majestate*; though it has not been constantly practised, I am persuaded your Lordship will never swerve from it, and therefore I most sincerely wish that you may long remain at the head of affairs, to restore strength and dignity to the crown, confidence to the people, and respect and honour from foreign nations towards your native country. I ever am most affectionately, my dear Lord,

Yours, &c. &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Friday, 15 m. past 3, p. m.

[August 22, 1766.]

LORD CHATHAM,

I THINK Lord Hertford ⁽¹⁾ will accept of the office of master of the horse without complaining, as he sees a prospect of the white staff. I desire, therefore, that you will acquaint Lord Bristol with my intention of appointing him lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but expecting his constant residence whilst he holds that office.⁽²⁾ If he should wish to see me previous to his kissing hands, I empower you to name next Wednesday as a proper day for his coming.

I desire you will sound Sir Jeffrey Amherst, as to the command of the Irish army.

GEORGE R.

(1) Francis Seymour Conway, first earl of Hertford. In 1751, his lordship was appointed a lord of the bedchamber; in 1757, installed knight of the garter; in 1763, sent ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; in 1765, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; in August 1766, master of the horse, and in December of the same year lord-chamberlain. He was created earl of Yarmouth and marquis of Hertford in 1793, and died in the following year.

(2) It had hitherto been the custom for the lord-lieutenant to go over to Ireland only once in two years. While there, he convened parliament, which lasted a few months; lived in a state of splendid magnificence; provided for his dependants; received freedoms, gold boxes, and complimentary addresses; and then hurried back to England with the utmost precipitation, leaving the government vested in a commission, usually

THE EARL OF HERTFORD TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, August 22, 1766.

MY LORD,

UPON my return home I find my son and family so much dissatisfied with what I have consented to, that I must beg it as the most particular instance of your Lordship's favour, that nothing may be said about the lieutenancy of Ireland, till I can have an opportunity of seeing the King on Sunday. I do not mean to raise a doubt against any inclinations of his Majesty's. I submit to every one of them, as far as any other interest is concerned. I am ambitious only of preserving the peace of my own family, and of acting in a manner not to be disapproved by the world. It is for that reason alone

composed of the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. These gentlemen, called Lords Justices, were better known in Ireland by the name of *undertakers*. The power, the patronage, and consequently the influence, derived from their situation, gave them an unlimited control over the interior government; and they considered themselves so important and so necessary to the crown in transactions which they called the king's business, that they were generally able to dictate their own terms to the administration of England. But one of the first measures settled in the cabinet by the new ministry was, that Ireland should no longer be left to the discretion of the undertakers, but that the lord-lieutenant should constantly reside in that country, and hold the reins of government in his own hands. "A wise system for Ireland," says Mr. Hardy, "had it been carried into execution as it should have been." See Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 125., and Sir George Macartney's *Account of Ireland*.

that I beg I may not be said to accept of the place of master of the horse, till my friends can give me their opinion that I can do it with honour in the present moment. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and humble servant,

HERTFORD.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, August 22, 1766,
35 m. past 8, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

As Lord Hertford has pressed that the declaration of the arrangement concerning Ireland may be suspended until he has seen me on Sunday, I entirely approve of your deferring the taking any step in that affair till I write to you that day subsequent to his audience ; though I do not foresee of what advantage another conversation will be to him.

I desire you will convey my approbation to the Duke of Rutland, for his very meritorious conduct ; as also to Lord Granby, for his zeal and speedy success in the delicate transaction he has been entrusted with.

GEORGE R.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Wakefield Lodge, Friday night, ten o'clock.
[August 22, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE this moment received the inclosed from Lord Gower in answer to mine, and I think I cannot make so good a use of it as to transmit it immediately to you. It is my opinion, though this affair has not met with the issue that was expected, yet that it will prove to the world the rectitude of your intentions, so conformable to what has been professed.

It will rejoice me much to find that your Lordship has clinched it for Sir Charles Saunders; who, with the other proposed, will produce a most answerable board.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

Your very affectionate
and faithful humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, August 23, 1766,
25 m. past 4, p.m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I AM sorry I have proved so true a prophet, in the course of the various arrangements that have

been proposed ; but am clear the sounding Lord Gower ⁽¹⁾ was right, and must convince the deluded people that the declaration, that no exceptions were made to men, except as far as their own characters pointed it out, was the real truth.

I agree with you in thinking it highly necessary the admiralty should not longer remain vacant ; therefore you may send for Sir Charles Saunders, and offer him the presidency at that board.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF BRISTOL.

[From a draught in the hand writing of Lady Chatham.]

North End, August 26, 1766.

LORD CHATHAM, who is confined to his bed by the gout, and disabled in his hand from writing, desires to present his respects to Lord Bristol ; and is under a necessity of taking this method to acquaint his Lordship, by the King's commands, that the Duke of Rutland having, in the handsomest manner, offered his employment⁽²⁾ for the

⁽¹⁾ Granville Leveson, second earl Gower. By this and the preceding letter, it would appear, that an offer had been made to his lordship of the presidency of the board of admiralty, which he had declined. In December 1767, his lordship was appointed president of the council ; in 1784, lord privy seal ; and in 1786 advanced to the title of marquis of Stafford. He died in 1803.

⁽²⁾ The mastership of the horse.

accommodation of the King's affairs, Lord Hertford has in consequence consented to resign Ireland, desiring at the same time some weeks more or less before his resignation. If the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland be agreeable to Lord Bristol, his Majesty will see with particular pleasure that important post filled by his lordship, and expects every advantage to his government from the great abilities of Lord Bristol, and from his lordship's more frequent residence in Ireland. The King desires to see Lord Bristol, as soon as is convenient to his lordship.

Lord Chatham is extremely mortified that his present condition puts it out of his power to wait on Lord Bristol on his arrival in town, but will be proud and happy to be at his lordship's orders at North End, to offer any lights in his power, previous to Lord Bristol's attending his Majesty.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ickworth Lodge, August 27, 1766.

MY LORD,

I HAVE just received the honour of your Lordship's most obliging letter by the messenger Evans, and am truly concerned to hear the gout has confined your Lordship to your bed. I should think myself wanting in gratitude to your Lordship, if I did not take the earliest opportunity of going to North End, to express my acknowledg-

ments for your recommendation of me to his Majesty for the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; which I think it my duty to accept of, since you, my Lord, have judged me equal to so important a trust, and that the King condescends to name me to it in so gracious a manner.

I hope to wait upon your Lordship on Friday morning about eleven, and then to renew the professions of that constant attachment, truth, and respect, with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obliged, obedient, and

most faithful servant,

BRISTOL.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, August 27, 1766.

Wednesday, half-past 3, p. m.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE King, on my coming into the closet, gave me directions that Sir Charles Saunders should kiss his hand, as first lord of the admiralty. He then proceeded to talk of other matters, without bringing up at all any conversation on the subject of Mr. Mackenzie. After having paused some time, I acquainted his Majesty, that that gentleman had called on me yesterday while I was out airing;

that I could not suppose that any difficulty was made by him to accept the post, on the footing his Majesty had been so gracious to tell me and the rest of his servants that he meant he should hold it. To which his Majesty directly replied, "Not in the least. I have thoroughly explained to him, that he holds the office detached of every ministerial power whatever;" and that he could not conceive from whence could arise any reports of doubt on the subject, and that it could come from no good wisher to his affairs. Thus, my Lord, having heard the King repeat again the conditions on which he held it, and his assuring me that Mr. Mackenzie was well informed of it also, I concluded that there never had been a doubt, or, if there was, that it had immediately been stopped in the closet. He kissed hands, and in his behaviour was very civil to me. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ When Mr. Stuart Mackenzie first received the privy seal of Scotland, in 1763, he was assured by the King that his appointment was for life : the Duke of Bedford, however, in 1765, apprehensive of being considered under the influence of Lord Bute, deprived him of the situation. Lord Chatham, regarding this removal as a flagrant violation of the royal promise, unmindful of the odium which might attach to the measure, made this reparation of the King's private honour one of the first acts of his new ministry. For this measure of justice he was assailed with all the virulence of party malice ; and though he had recently declared in parliament, that he would not submit to be minister where he felt an over-ruling influence, and that his objection to Lord Bute was personal and not national, he was decried as the dupe of that noble lord, and told, that "as he had been caught in a Scotch trap, he must get out of it as well as he could." See "An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner."

The East India chairman and deputy are desired to be at my house to-morrow at seven o'clock, where Lord Chancellor and the two secretaries are to dine. I mean also to invite Charles Townshend. I have enclosed the words which Lord Shelburne had from your Lordship. After having repeated the substance of them, I mean to deliver it in writing to them, as a fuller justification of the King's servants, if you approve of it. Though I look upon it as a certainty that this matter must have a parliamentary enquiry, would your Lordship have the word *certainly* or those *in all likelihood* inserted in the place of the other? ⁽¹⁾

(1) When the news reached England of the re-establishment of the East India Company's affairs, and of the immense acquisitions that had been gained for them by the various treaties concluded by Lord Clive, the price of stock rose, and there was a clamorous demand for an increase in the dividends; which, during the war, had been reduced from eight to six per cent. This was opposed by the directors, on the ground that though many advantages had been acquired, great debts had been incurred, and that the payment of debts ought to precede the division of profits. Not convinced by this reasoning, at the next general quarterly court of the proprietors it was carried by a majority of 340 against 231, that the yearly dividend should be increased to ten per cent. It was at this time that the government sent the message to the directors hinted at in the above letter, importing, "that as the affairs of the East India Company had been mentioned in parliament last session, it was very probable they might be taken into consideration again; and therefore, from the regard they had for the welfare of the Company, and in order that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occasion, they informed them that the parliament would meet in November."

I shall be happy to hear that your Lordship is better; and beg leave to assure you that I am always, with the most profound respect,

Your Lordship's

most faithful

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, August 29, 1766.

5 m. past 4, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I was much pleased at learning this day from Lord Bristol that your gout is diminishing. When it is quite removed, a journey to Bath will, I make no doubt, secure you from any fresh attack during the winter.

The enclosed letter from Sir Andrew Mitchell⁽¹⁾ has given me great pleasure, as he seems very thoroughly to enter into what is proposed, in the very light it is viewed here.

GEORGE R.

(1) Sir Andrew Mitchell's letter to Mr. Conway, of the 21st of August; an extract of which is given at p. 46.

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS WALPOLE TO THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, September 9, 1766.

MY LORD,

THERE is good reason to believe the treaties concluded in Bengal by Lord Clive, will be productive of a clear yearly revenue of two millions sterling. An object of this importance would, in a few years, ease this country of the burden it labours under ; and therefore our whole wills should be set to make this revenue as durable as possible.

All other speculations should give way to this consideration of permanency ; even the existence of the India Company, the benefit of whose trade, from the beginning of their charter, is not to be compared to a few years' preservation of the present object.

Such a balance in favour of this country, whether managed by a particular body of men or by the public treasury, may be matter of pure speculation, in comparison to securing it, one way or the other ; but if the East India Company is unequal to the task, their legal rights can be only considered as they combine with the good of the whole ; and government would be blamed for trusting so great an acquisition in hands too weak to hold it.

The annual choice of directors may very well serve the temporary purposes of trade, which is

always fluctuating, and the circumstances of which they must rather follow than direct ; but such a floating and uncertain authority can never be equivalent to a steady system of government over distant countries, where those trusted with the executive parts are doubtful how long their authority may last, and only intent on the speediest methods of enriching themselves. Their riches are afterwards successfully employed here to prevent any scrutiny into their conduct, either by intimidating the directors, or choosing in their stead a sufficient number of their friends to prevent all enquiry. Hence have arisen all the wicked policy, mischiefs, and dissensions, which have annually brought the East India Company to the brink of ruin.

The present constitution, therefore, of the Company seems very inadequate to their situation ; and whether it can be so framed as to give it proper energy is beyond my conception. If not, it is absolutely necessary government should take the charge of that which is too unwieldy for a subordinate body of merchants ; allowing them such a compensation as may be equitable, all things considered. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) By a reference to Vol. I. p. 389., it will be seen, that Lord Clive, so early as the year 1759, had drawn the attention of Mr. Pitt to this important question, and had expressed his conviction, that so large a sovereignty was an object too extensive for a mercantile company. In a letter from Mr. Walsh to Lord Clive, written in May 1766, shortly after the news had arrived of his lordship's negotiation with the vizier, and of the

What this ought to be will gradually open itself, in the progress of examination into the Company's affairs; and probably in that discussion many circumstances will contribute to favour whatsoever plan government shall think wisest to adopt. In the meanwhile, it seems necessary to induce Lord Clive to continue in Bengal till this important business is settled here, and some person appointed to succeed his Lordship, with sufficient means to preserve what his Lordship's astonishing influence in that part of the world has so happily acquired.

The wise step already taken by your Lordship's advice is gratefully felt by every honest and disinterested person in the city. It has given a new bias to the minds of men; cooled the inflamed hopes of some, relieved the fears of others; and added weight to those who have no further views than the just security of their property, and to see the India trade preserved in the degree of credit it

subsequent peace, that gentleman says, "I am very sorry you did not write a few lines to Mr. Pitt, to conciliate him to your negotiations. He has left us for Pynsent, where he is doing great things. I spoke a few words to him, just as he left the House of Commons, telling him you had, in great measure, carried into execution what I had once the honour of laying before him; to which he answered, that he had heard of the great things you had done; that you had acquired great honour; but that they were too vast: for some time he had been dissatisfied with our proceedings there; however, he was very glad to hear that Lord Clive was well, and that he had not gone up to Delhi. This was all that passed between us, whilst he was getting on his great coat. One word from him would go far in making or unmaking the Company." — See Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. iii. p. 189.

deserves, by bringing fairly before the proprietors and the public the state of their affairs ; which may now be settled upon a solid foundation, and not proceed any longer under a concealment, which nothing but a desperate state could justify. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble servant,

THOMAS WALPOLE.

THE RIGHT HON. HANS STANLEY TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Gentlemen's Hotel, King Street, St. James's,
September 11, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAD the honour of seeing his Majesty yesterday ; though the hour was late, on account of a council, and several other audiences which preceded mine, he was pleased to enter into the business of my commission, with his usual goodness and affability. I had an opportunity of observing, what I had before more than once admired, the great accuracy of his Majesty's memory in recollecting the various parts of so involved, so long, and sometimes so contradictory a correspondence, as that which I have lately perused ; and I had the satisfaction of finding his better judgment concur with my poor opinion, in all the material inferences and deductions drawn from thence, many of which he was pleased to

suggest to me before I had mentioned them. He is convinced not only of the prudence, but the necessity of following one plain, direct, and simple path in the negotiation upon the line of the alliance actually subsisting between Russia and Prussia. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

H. STANLEY.

THE REV. EDWARD WILSON TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Weymouth, September 13, 1766.

MADAM,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you, that all my pupils ⁽¹⁾ are very well and very good. Lady Hester and Mr. Pitt still continue to surprise and astonish as much as ever; and I see no possibility of diminishing their ardour, either by too much business or too much relaxation. When I am alone reading, Mr. Pitt, if it is any thing he may attend to, constantly places himself by me, where his steady attention and sage remarks are not only entertaining but useful; as they frequently throw a light upon the subject, and strongly impress it on my memory.

(1) Of Lord Chatham's three sons, John, William, and James-Charles, the respective ages at this time were ten, seven, and five. Lady Hester had nearly completed her eleventh, and Lady Harriet her eighth year.

Mr. Pitt, I think, is considerably grown since we came to Weymouth. I beg my most respectful compliments to the Earl of Chatham, and am, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged
and obedient servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, September 14, 1766,
24 m. past 11, a.m.

LORD CHATHAM,

THE enclosed is Mr. Stanley's summary recapitulation of the correspondence from our ministers in Russia, since the present Empress's mounting that throne ; which he desired me, when I had done with it, to transmit to you. I think it drawn up with great ability ; but cannot agree with him in the least as to his last paragraph, where he manifestly leans to yielding the Turkish point to the desires of the Empress.

If the King of Prussia sincerely wishes to see the proposed grand alliance formed, he will feel the weight of our reasoning, as a commercial nation and highly interested in the Levant trade, against that proposition, and will, I am persuaded, do his utmost to make Russia reasonable on that head.

GEORGE R.

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Berlin, September 17, 1766.

(*Private.*)

MY LORD,

My letter to Mr. Conway of this date will inform your Lordship of what passed in the conference I had with the King of Prussia at Potsdam, and of the manner in which I have executed the important commission with which I was charged. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Sir Andrew Mitchell's account of his interview with Frederic the Great has fortunately been preserved amongst his papers, and is here given : —

“ I had the honour of acquainting you in my last of the 14th, that I was the next day to set out for Potsdam, in order to have an audience of his Prussian Majesty, and I am now to give you an account of what passed in that audience. I began by acquainting his Prussian Majesty, that the King had commanded me to lay before him the outlines of a project, which his Majesty thought would lead effectually to secure the continuance of the public general tranquillity, by forming a firm and solid system in the North, to counterbalance the formidable alliance of the House of Bourbon, founded on the Family Compact : that for this purpose his Majesty thought that a triple alliance between the crowns of Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia was the most probable means of obtaining this great and salutary end ; and that before he took any steps in that important affair, his Majesty was desirous of knowing the King of Prussia's opinion.

“ To this his Prussian Majesty answered, that at present he saw no likelihood of war ; that France could not make war ; that Spain was less in a condition to do it ; that he therefore made no doubt the Spaniards would pay the Manilla ransom ; that the troubles in Spain must be of great advantage to us, and could not fail to secure, for some time at least, the public tranquillity, which he was of opinion would soon have been interrupted by an invasion of Portugal, had not tumults happened in

As I found the King of Prussia averse to enter into new and stricter connections with England,

Spain, which had, in some sort, unhinged their government and weakened the authority of the crown ; that such an alliance at this time would give jealousy to other powers, and afford a pretence for disturbing the general tranquillity. Besides, he observed, alliances made with a view to distant events are, for the most part, merely matters of ostentation, and rarely produce any other effect than that of imposing for a short time upon the adverse party. He then repeated an Italian proverb, '*Chi sta bene non se muove.*'

"I replied, '*Chi sta solo non sta bene;*' that the forming of a triple alliance as proposed could not justly give alarm to any power in Europe, as it was calculated for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and the object of it was merely defensive, without any view of ambition or conquest of any kind ; that the Family Compact was of quite a different nature, big with ambition and vengeance, threatening the liberties of Europe, and that it was an alliance offensive and defensive against mankind, making *cause commune* almost of every case that could happen, as his Prussian Majesty would find by reading it over ; that this made the alliance proposed by the King the more necessary, and that this was the fit time to enter into that alliance, whilst the situation of the other powers in Europe was such as did neither invite nor perhaps permit them to make war ; that the King was resolved to act in thorough union and confidence with his Prussian Majesty ; and as a proof of his sincerity and attention had directed Mr. Stanley, his ambassador to the court of Russia, to pass by Berlin, in order to open the whole plan to his Prussian Majesty (and that before it had been communicated to the court of Petersburg), and at the same time to concert with him, King of Prussia, the proper measures to be taken to bring this great project into execution.

"The King of Prussia, after desiring me to make his compliments to the King, and to express how highly sensible he was of this mark of his Majesty's friendship and confidence, added, that the affair in question was of a very important nature, and required much deliberation, especially on his part, as he was afraid the many matters of discussion still subsisting between us

as well on account of the usage he met with towards the end of the late war, as of the unsettled

and France would, one time or other, be the occasion of a new war, in which the natural interests of his country might not lead him to take any part; that he had of late been much taken up with domestic affairs, but that he would now think and reflect seriously on what was proposed. He then hinted to me the treatment he had met with from us when the late peace was made, and talked of the instability of our measures and sudden changes in our administrations, which made it almost impossible to transact business with us with any sort of security. To both which objections I answered as well as I could, allowing, at the same time, that he had some reason to complain; but that now a plan was formed, and government had acquired a consistency, it was probable there would be an end of unsteadiness of measures, and of changes in our administration.

“He then asked me, if I knew any thing farther concerning the particular stipulations that might enter into the triple alliance proposed? I answered, I did not; only that I believed it was intended to invite the States General, the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and such German princes as had not acceded to the Family Compact; but that a plan of this treaty would be fully communicated and explained by Mr. Stanley, who was to have a credential to him, King of Prussia, for that purpose.

“The last question his Prussian Majesty put to me was, if I knew that the Empress Queen had acceded to the Family Compact? I said, I had heard such a report, but did not know if it was founded; that if she had acceded, it seemed to be entirely against the letter of that treaty, as appears by the twenty-first article, which expressly says, that none are to be admitted but those of the Bourbon family.

“Thus, Sir, I have laid before you a full and fair account of the conference I have had with the King of Prussia upon the subject-matter of your important despatch; by which it plainly appears, that his Prussian Majesty is not yet convinced of the necessity nor of the expediency of such an alliance; that he is diffident and backward to enter into engagements with us, and afraid of being drawn into new wars; and that he seems to think himself secure on his own bottom. But on this last I cannot help widely

and fluctuating state our government has been in since the conclusion of the peace, I made a proper use of your Lordship's *secret* letter of the 8th of August, and urged his Prussian Majesty upon this point; that now, by your Lordship's taking a share in government, the cause of his distrust was taken away, and therefore his diffidence ought to cease, &c. He answered, "I fear my friend has hurt himself by accepting of a peerage at this time."

I replied, that though I really did not know your motives, I was persuaded you could give a good reason for what you had done; that I was not at all alarmed with the clamour and abuse thrown out against you on that account, as it was the effect of the arts and malice of your enemies, on purpose to discredit you with the people, who were easily misled by first impressions and misrepresentations, but were as easily brought back

differing from him; as, according to the best of my knowledge, he has no treaty of alliance but with the court of Russia, which, as I am informed (for I never saw the treaty), does not go a great way. Besides, I have learnt that he does not show the proper attention and management due to that court; the being well with which is to him of the utmost importance. I therefore, upon the whole, cannot help concluding, that of the contracting parties in this triple alliance the King of Prussia will reap the greatest advantage and security, though he does not at present see it in that light. I should not have failed telling him so, had a fit opportunity offered; but I did not judge it proper to make one, as he might with justice have deemed it presumption in me to judge or give an opinion upon what was most for his real interest."

again to their senses, by right actions and a steady conduct ; that I was convinced this would be the case with your Lordship, and to confirm what I said, I mentioned to him what I had been a witness to, when, by your speech in parliament⁽¹⁾, you *saved* the American colonies, and were abused most scurrilously as a traitor to your country for so doing ; that in a very short space of time the people saw they had been deceived, acknowledged their error, and expressed their esteem and gratitude to you, in a stronger manner than ever they had done before ; that this, I hoped, would be the case now, which brought to my mind what I had observed in the field, where certain great officers never appeared in their full lustre but by recovering what was deemed desperate. The King smiled, and said “ I understand your allusion, and hope it will be so.”⁽²⁾

I have the honour to be, with great and sincere respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most obliged humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

(1) Sir Andrew was member for the burghs of Elgin, &c., and was present in the House of Commons on the 21st of February of this year, when Mr. Pitt made his memorable speech on the state of the American colonies.

(2) For the conversation which passed between Frederick the Great and Sir Andrew, on the field of battle, immediately after the signal defeat of the Austrians near Leignitz, on the 15th of August 1760, see Vol. II. p. 56.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO COLONEL BARRÉ.

North End, Hampstead, Saturday.

[September 20, 1766.]

SIR,

THE ill state of my health obliges me to be as few hours at a time in London, as necessary business will admit. Amongst the most necessary to the King's service, planned upon the principle of inviting into it abilities and integrity, you will allow me to consider Colonel Barré's support and concurrence in office as standing with particular distinction, in such a formation of administration.

The office to which his Majesty's gracious dispositions have destined you, you already have been apprised, is vice-treasurer of Ireland.⁽¹⁾ I hope it will be agreeable to you; and if I shall not give you too much trouble, I shall be extremely obliged to you if you will do me the honour to call in Harley Street to-morrow morning at ten.

I am, with truest esteem and consideration, Sir,

Your faithful and most

obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

(¹) The vice-treasurership of Ireland was at this time vacant by the retirement of Mr. Welbore Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip. Colonel Barré accepted the appointment, and was, at the same time, sworn of the privy council.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE RIGHT HON.
CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's hand-writing.]

Bond Street, Wednesday Morning.
[September 24, 1766.]

LORD CHATHAM desires to add here, that his mortification is extreme at not being able to go to council to-day, having nothing so much at heart as to give his opinion *publicly* for the embargo upon corn, which he has strenuously advised in *private*; and that he should think himself guilty of neglecting the public safety, if any thing could shake his resolution about this measure.⁽¹⁾

(1) The above note was sent by Lord Chatham to the chancellor of the exchequer, on returning to him a draught of the order in council laying an embargo upon ships laden with corn. "From an almost uninterrupted succession of rain," says Mr. Adolphus "the harvest of this summer had failed in all parts of England; the price of bread was considerably advanced, and as a similar deficiency prevailed on the continent, serious alarms were entertained, lest, by combinations of monopolists, forestallers, and regraters, and by an unlimited exportation for profit, the country should suffer the miseries of famine. In consequence of these apprehensions, tumults had broken out in many parts of the kingdom, which were only repressed by the aid of the military. In this state of things, a proclamation for putting in force the laws against forestallers and regraters was issued, on the 10th of this month; but the measure not proving efficient, and the distress increasing, the government came to the determination of issuing an order in council, laying an embargo on ships preparing to sail with cargoes of corn."

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, September 25, 1766.
20 m. past 9, P.M.

LORD CHATHAM,

I HAVE this instant seen Lord Northumberland⁽¹⁾, who sent to press me either to let him come this evening or early to-morrow morning. He opened to me the having seen you this day ; that you had entered into his feelings concerning the alteration of the administration of Ireland, whilst he still remained without a mark of my favour, though you said you had not seen it in the light he did till then ; that he had mentioned his desire of being created a duke, as the only means of making him easy ; that you had told him you did not know my ideas on that head, but that if they were not unfavourable to him, you would make it your business to remove any other difficulties that might arise any where else ; that you wished to

(1) In July 1740, Sir Hugh Smithson married the lady Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of Algernon, Duke of Somerset, and grand-daughter of Duke Charles by Lady Elizabeth Percy. On the death of his father-in-law, Sir Hugh succeeded, according to the patent, to the earldom of Northumberland, and took his seat in the House of Peers in March, 1749-50. In 1757, he was installed a knight of the garter ; in 1760, appointed a lord of the bedchamber ; in 1762, lord-chamberlain to the queen ; in 1763, lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; and in 1764, vice-admiral of all America, being the first person ever nominated to that office. On the 18th of October, 1766, his lordship was raised to a dukedom, by the titles of Earl Percy and Duke of Northumberland ; in 1778, appointed master of the horse ; and in 1784, created Lord Lovaine, Baron of Alnwick. His grace died in 1786.

know my ideas time enough for your seeing the Duke of Grafton in the morning, and yet set out for Bath in the course of the day ; that that was the reason of his coming this evening.

I said, his request of a dukedom was so new to me, that I could give him no other answer than that I would consider of it ; that I had thought he only looked up to a marquise. He said, that was a more modern rank in the English peerage ; that what he asked was the old title of Lady Northumberland's family ; that if he succeeded, he never would be an applier for employments. I then concluded with assuring him, he should know my decision to-morrow. Undoubtedly, few peers have either so great an estate in point of income, and scarce any in point of extent ; therefore, if you will co-operate with me in declaring I don't mean by this to open a door for the creating many dukes, I will consent to it. The only person I am engaged to is Lord Cardigan ⁽¹⁾, who applied to me the very year I came to the crown, and had my promise that I would not omit him whenever I created any. Not finding I made any at the coronation, he applied to be created a marquess in the meantime, to which I gave him the like answer ; therefore look

(1) George Brudenell, fourth earl of Cardigan. In 1752, his lordship was appointed constable of Windsor Castle, and elected a knight of the garter ; in October 1766, advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Monthermer and Duke of Montagu ; and in 1776, made governor to their royal highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. On his death, in 1790, the dukedom of Montagu became extinct.

upon myself as engaged to make him at the same time.

I desire you will authorize Lady Chatham, or any one else you choose to confide in on this occasion, to give action to your pen, as I doubt you are not able yourself as yet to answer me. I cannot conclude without expressing my hopes that the Bath waters will totally re-establish your health.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's hand-writing.]

September 25, 1766.

LORD CHATHAM begs leave to lay himself with all duty at the King's feet, and in consequence of his most gracious permission most humbly to submit to his Majesty, that he sees it will give facility to future arrangements, very useful to his Majesty's service, to gratify Lord Northumberland by the title which he has requested of his Majesty, and at the same time give satisfaction to a very respectable person.

With regard to creations of the same rank, his Majesty's royal pleasure will limit the number as his wisdom shall judge proper. Care shall be taken to apprise the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning of his Majesty's intention, in order

to receive the King's further commands at St. James's.

Nothing can equal the infinite goodness of his Majesty in remembering with such benignity the health of his most dutifully devoted servant, nor equal the sentiments of most profound respect and warmest gratitude with which so gracious a condescension fills his heart.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY TO
THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, September 26, 1766.

MY LORD,

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship the letter received this day from Sir Andrew Mitchell.⁽¹⁾ The King had the despatch with him; and not having read it before the levee and council, which sat till four o'clock, it was not till just now I received it back. I think, on re-perusing it, that the manner of *his* receiving the proposition is cold and disagreeable; but yet not such as makes the prospect of its success at all desperate, on his part. Sir Andrew has kept Pollock the messenger to send with his next despatches, which we may expect in some days, or a week at farthest: they will probably clear up any doubt as to Mr. Stanley's preparations to pass through Berlin, and I shall

(¹) See p. 46.

endeavour to have things so prepared, as no time may be lost when he shall be ready to depart.

The language from Russia is only a repetition of what we heard before. The treaty of commerce is returned with the ratification; but M. Panin still insists on his former terms as the *sine quâ non*. That, however, is no more than a repetition of former conversations. There is a disagreeable paragraph of his *confidential* account of the King of Prussia's health. ⁽¹⁾ I am, my Lord, with great respect, your Lordship's

Most humble

and obedient servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

(1) Sir George Macartney, in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell, dated St. Petersburg, Aug. 24—Sept. 4, 1766, says, "This day I exchanged the ratification of the treaty of commerce with this court, and have now the satisfaction to inform you, that this affair is at last happily and finally concluded. I send you a collection of the principal papers that have passed during the course of the negotiation; which will, I believe, sufficiently evince my zeal and activity for the service, and how little I deserved to have an ambassador put over my head, at a court where, I will venture to say, no foreign minister ever stood upon a better footing, or enjoyed a higher reputation. Highly sensible of the undeserved slight put upon me by the nomination of Mr. Stanley, I have desired my recall, in a letter to Mr. Conway by this messenger. I must here inform you, that ten days ago, M. Panin told me, in confidence, that the King of Prussia had frequent fits of the spleen, which for the time totally disordered his understanding; that it was very carefully kept secret, or glossed over by another name, but that nothing was more certain. He added, that if Russia did not keep him in awe, 'qu'il étoit très capable de faire de grandes sottises.' Notwithstanding this, M. Panin, I am persuaded, will support

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, September 26, 1766.

At night.

MY DEAR LORD,

ON coming first into the King's closet, his Majesty entered on the subject of the Prussian affair; not having read the despatch upon it, but only informed in regard to it by the audience he had just given to the secretaries of state. I declined giving any opinion upon it, till I could see the exact terms in which a delicate affair (as it was reported to be) was expressed. I added also some surprise, that it had not come to the King's hands: on which the King went into another room to see if it had been sent from the office since he had got to St. James's. He found it in a box just come, and read it out; when, turning to me, his Majesty asked

him at all events; for hearing it repeated the other day, that Stahremberg and Lacy, dazzled by their present elevation, had said they believed Providence had reserved the recovery of Silesia to illustrate their ministry, he, Panin, answered, 'By God, if they attempt it, it shall cost them the half of Bohemia.'

"You have already seen, by the copy of my letter to Mr. Conway, what are the sentiments of this court with regard to ours upon the subject of alliance. For my part, I am convinced that M. Panin will never recede from the principle he first set out upon, of including a Turkish war in the *casus fœderis*. He is irritated against us for our refusal of this condition, more than I venture to express to the office, in so much that he makes no scruple to declare publicly, that, seeing the conduct of our court, he consented to sign the late treaty of commerce at last, merely from personal consideration and friendship to me."

me my thoughts upon it; which I delivered as nearly in these words as I can recollect:—"The expressions of doubt from his Prussian Majesty arise more from the apprehension he either has of some particular notion he may have conceived of a momentary view that Great Britain has in this proposal, or of the despair of an opening advantageous to the common good of Europe, rather than from any determined resolution of declining the offer; of which, on the contrary, his Prussian Majesty seems earnest to know the particulars, and adds, that he is sensible of the mark of confidence that the King intends him."

I added, that on the whole, I could have no doubt but that Mr. Stanley should still attempt the alliance; in which opinion his Majesty concurred *entirely*. I shall be greatly flattered if your Lordship's opinion should confirm me in mine. I must not omit observing, that the King, on reading it over, and coming to the words "the quick changes that had happened in our administrations," started, and said "*God forbid that there should be any more!*" particularly as these words dropped with the greatest quickness and air of sincerity. ⁽¹⁾

(1) In a letter written, at this time, by Sir Andrew Mitchell to Sir George Macartney, there is this passage: "I own myself unable to judge either of the solidity or duration of the present administration, till the meeting of parliament. One thing, however, I feel, as I suppose you do, that the late frequent changes in England have created a degree of diffidence in foreign powers, which renders all negotiation with them difficult and disagreeable."

On opening the whole affair relating to Lord Northumberland, I said that "it must be in his Majesty's breast, whether to reward in that high manner a servant whose merit had recommended him to his Majesty, and whose feelings were strong by the disappointment occasioned by arrangements taken for the ease of his Majesty's government; that I could not but approve of the resolution taken of opening the door for pretensions no wider than a promise obliged it to be, in which I should be glad to give every assistance that his Majesty's determination on that head should lead him to as little trouble as possible." He ordered me then to acquaint Lord Northumberland, that I had left his Majesty in a favourable disposition on the point.

I must observe, that I mentioned to the King a circumstance which was much approved; that as so great a mark of favour was designed for Lord Cardigan, his lordship should be informed, that Lord Northumberland desired it might be, and declared that it was known by the King, that he was to hold in no time an office of court or of ministry with it. By this your Lordship may find one for your disposal and to facilitate the system, in that of the governor of Windsor Castle, if you should approve it.

All the other letters I shall write according to what was settled between us, and since approved of by the King; who trusts that Lord Chancellor and the Lord President will be acquainted with this whole transaction from your Lordship. I am

to write to them on the titles of Prince Henry; whom the King means to create Duke of Cumberland, and his allowance of 9,000*l.* per annum is to commence from Michaelmas.

I was told at court (and really mention it only to give information, quite easy on the determination), that the treasurer's staff vacant was never offered to another before the comptroller lord had the compliment of it; provided they both sat in the same house of Parliament. Perhaps the pure offer of it would be esteemed greatly, when in fact they are so near in value and in dignity, that either would be indifferent to a new person.

I have the honour to be, with every sincere wish for your Lordship's health, prosperity, and happiness, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE RIGHT HON. HANS STANLEY TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Privy Garden, October 1, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. CONWAY communicated to me the intended despatch to Sir Andrew Mitchell⁽¹⁾, which in other

⁽¹⁾ The original of this spirited letter is in the British Museum. After expressions of satisfaction, at the able manner

circumstances would have appeared to me to enter rather too far into the detail of the proposed nego-

in which Sir Andrew had opened to the King of Prussia this delicate and important matter, it proceeds thus:—“Notwithstanding many things his Majesty had heard of the King of Prussia’s manner of expressing himself of late, in regard to connexions with this country, his Majesty could not but receive with much surprise your account of the great coldness with which he received the advance made to him; and whether this language is sincere or affected, it seems fit he should understand, that the value of the alliance which his Majesty from predilection offers, must not be beaten down and treated as if England had particular selfish views alone to serve, and was asking a boon, instead of proposing a most honourable and advantageous system of union for the public good, for the mutual security and advantage of the powers proposed to be parties in it, and for none more evidently than of his Prussian Majesty himself; the jealousy and power of whose neighbours, and the weak state of whose internal affairs, from the disorder of his trade and finances, seem to call loudly for the prop of so firm and powerful an alliance as that now voluntarily proposed to him.

“He says, ‘the times are not proper.’ What! while the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon exists, strengthened by their union with the House of Austria, the most formidable combination ever formed, and the most dangerous to the liberties of Europe?

“He says, ‘there are matters of discussion between us and France likely, one time or other, to be the occasion of a new war, in which the natural interests of Prussia might not lead her to take part.’ His Prussian Majesty ought to be told, that a matter of discussion, called *Silesia*, is the object in Europe the most likely to kindle a new war, if not timely prevented by prudent and proper measures. These things must be put in their true light; and this charge, attempted to be given at the outset of this negotiation, must be very effectually and very explicitly set right. His Majesty’s dignity demands it, and the success of the negotiation upon a proper foot depends upon it.

“He asks, ‘what stipulations?’ None! till we know he is disposed to treat upon an equal foot, on the general ground of

tiation; but as that minister will probably not receive it till after farther conferences with the King of Prussia, nor indeed till after the departure of his next courier, and will make use of his instructions according to the answers he has received from his Prussian Majesty, I think there is no real objection arising on that account, and that the sense and spirit with which it is composed deserve the highest approbation.

I was this day at St. James's. It did not appear to me necessary to ask an audience; but as I thought it was possible his Majesty might be willing to speak to me on the subject of the late despatch from Germany, I desired the lord of the bed-chamber to say, that as I was going for some time into the

mutual defence, and the support of the general peace and tranquillity — free from subsidies in time of peace, and from such engagements as the honour and interest of this nation must refuse, particularly the Turkish clause, endeavoured to be imposed upon us by Russia, and never before attempted to be introduced in the various treaties of defensive alliance made by Great Britain, either with Russia or with the House of Austria.

“ If his Prussian Majesty is cordial, if he is disposed to this great union, we meet him more than half way. If he expects to be entreated, he should know it is not for his Majesty's honour to go further than the step already taken. A continuance of hesitation will be looked on as a refusal, and his Prussian Majesty will probably repent, ere long, having lost the fairest and noblest opportunity that could offer, to build his own honour and security on the same firm basis with the general peace and liberty of Europe.”

In a postscript, Sir Andrew is desired to use the contents of this letter at his discretion, according to the situation of things at Berlin when it arrived.

country, I should attend after the levee, in case his Majesty had any orders to give me before I left London. He was pleased to admit me immediately into his presence, and to enter still more fully than he had done before into all the circumstances of the affair entrusted to me.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that, notwithstanding the very cool and inadequate return made to those open and amicable advances which have come from hence, his Majesty remains as firmly persuaded of the propriety of all the steps which have been hitherto taken, as if this overture had met with the most cordial reception. I did not fail to observe to him, that as he had stepped forth in a wise as well as generous plan for the defence of the liberties of Europe against a combination which threatened them, there could, even in case of failure, be no diminution of dignity to the power which had proposed an alliance tending to so great an object ; and that it was, on the contrary, the refusal that must degrade the party whence it arose. I touched on the general reasons which made an union with us still more eligible and even necessary to Prussia, than to Great Britain ; and I did not forget to urge my motives for thinking that even very lately such an offer would have been embraced, if some unhappy variation of temper, which may possibly again alter towards our side, had not, against every probable and well-founded expectation, intervened. His Majesty was pleased to intimate to me his intention,

that I should not set out on my mission till after the arrival of another courier from Berlin ; and that if the despatch then received was not satisfactory, my journey should be still farther deferred, till an answer came to that despatch which is now going to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

This part of my audience led very naturally to some discourse on the situation of my embassy, considered with regard to Russia, if a disappointment should occur at Berlin. I found his Majesty inclined to think that, after so long and so many repeated solicitations, a second refusal of his alliance, tendered in so solemn a manner, would be a very disagreeable event, however it might possibly flatter the pride of the court of Petersburg, or furnish their ministers with a fresh opportunity of proving their attachment to Prussia. I presumed to say, that too affected a reserve often did more harm even than indiscretion, and that in so fair and friendly a transaction the truth was the most honourable apology ; that there could be no secret in this business which would not be communicated from Berlin to M. Panin ; that I therefore did not see why Sir George Macartney might not be instructed to say, that his Majesty having had occasion to give a fresh consideration to his foreign affairs, and having observed that after every argument founded on justice or policy for insisting on making a Turkish war a *casus fœderis* had been confessedly refuted, the last resort of the Russian court had been to plead prior engagements for that stipulation formed with Prussia, and even in the strongest

manner declared to our minister as the ground of a personal objection from that power, if such an exception was admitted ; that his Majesty, ever desirous (as he had so often shown) of a connexion with Russia, had conceived that if the court of Berlin becoming herself a party in a triple league of union tending very much to her interest had appeared disposed to relinquish this point, every obstruction would have then been removed, and that the attempting so laudable and desirable a conclusion of this long negotiation had been the motive of the proposed embassy ; but as this frank and advantageous offer had not been relished as it deserved at Berlin, his Majesty was of opinion that a formal refusal of the Turkish exception, and consequently of the alliance, would serve only to occasion a coolness between the two courts, and end in a triumph to the secret enemies of both ; and that it therefore was become proper, in the present conjuncture, to ask whether a point so little founded in reason could not be waved, if Russia was satisfied in all other conditions which could prove our predilections and cordiality.

I ventured to throw out these crude thoughts of mine as the most obvious and natural issue of this transaction, even in the worst event, and his Majesty seemed to honour them with some degree of attention. I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble servant,

H. STANLEY.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 4, 1766.

MY LORD,

LORD NORTHUMBERLAND was yesterday created Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Percy, and Viscount Louvaine; the last of which Mr. Conway had the address to persuade him from adding as a second dukedom, as he before had that of getting him to change the title he first had asked of Duke *Brabant*.⁽¹⁾ The Earl of Cardigan preferred the temporary enjoyment of his post to the honour which has been the object of his life.

Lord Scarborough⁽²⁾ was with me yesterday, in consequence of the letter I had written to him, and told me that he had considered the proposal of the post-office, which he begged to decline accepting, totally from *family convenience*⁽³⁾, which would

(1) Agnes de Percy, second daughter of the third Lord William de Percy, was married to Joceline of Lovaine, son of Godfrey Barbutus, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and Count of Brabant.

(2) Richard Lumley Saunderson, fourth earl of Scarborough. During the preceding administration he had filled the office of cofferer to the King's household. He was also deputy earl marshal of England.

(3) This passage extinguishes for ever one of the numerous misrepresentations of Lord Chatham's conduct during the forming of this administration, contained in Almon's "Anecdotes," and since transferred into Thackeray's more voluminous "History of the Earl of Chatham." Both these authors assert, that Lord Scarborough and Mr. Dowdeswell complained of the offensive manner in which they were applied to by Lord

not allow him to be as much in town as he should think it necessary to be if he was in the post-office, and which neither his own nor Lady Scarborough's health would admit of. He added, that his declining arose from *no other motive* ; and if ever he did not approve of any system, he would lay down whatever employment he held, before he opposed it. Lord Monson's⁽¹⁾ letter to me was very short, and is comprehended in these words, "that the advance of peerage was an honour he could accept by no means at this time."

I make no doubt that your Lordship is turning in your thoughts the Speech that will come most properly from the Throne in the present circumstances ; and we trust that, in the hands of the lords now assembled at Bath⁽²⁾ it is best placed. Give me leave to conclude with the sincerest wishes for

Chatham, and *consequently* declined office : "to the first," say they, "an abrupt message was sent, 'that he might have an office if he would ;' to a second, 'that such an office was still vacant ;' to a third, 'that he must take such an office or none.'" Of Mr. Almon's work Archdeacon Coxe, in his Memoirs of Lord Walpole, gives the following opinion : "I think it a duty I owe to the public, in mentioning this wretched compilation, to declare, that from the access I have had to the papers and documents of the times, I find it superficial and inaccurate, principally drawn from newspapers and party pamphlets, and interspersed, perhaps, with a few anecdotes communicated in desultory conversations by Earl Temple."

(1) John, second Lord Monson ; in October 1765, appointed chief justice of his Majesty's forests south of Trent, which office he resigned in November 1766.

(2) Besides Lord Chatham, Lord Northington and Lord Camden were at this time at Bath.

your Lordship's health, and by assuring you of the real sentiments of esteem and respect with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, Monday Morning.

[October 5, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I CANNOT return to London from being so near your Lordship, without desiring to know how your journey agreed with you. I am come here on account of some alarm my servants were in for the safety of my house on account of the late riots; which I am glad to find not very well founded, or at least prevented by the activity of some country gentlemen. I wish I may find, on my return to London, that they have had the same success in other counties. Oxfordshire and Leicestershire are in a most disorderly state, and the applications to government have been so repeated, that the King has thought proper to order General Conway and me to write to the lord-lieutenants of those counties where there have been disturbances, and where they have continued since the embargo, to desire them to enquire into the grounds of them, their nature and tendency;

and if they find it necessary in consequence to meet the sheriff, justices, or gentlemen in some central place, to consider of proper steps to be taken to warn the deluded, and to seize the persons of those that persist, that they may suffer the full punishment the law directs.

Since your Lordship left town, there has been nothing worthy your attention, except a silence on the part of Prussia. I wish we may hear something from thence soon, because the King and General Conway wish it; for myself, I own I was not surprised at Sir Andrew Mitchell's despatch, having heard so much of the King of Prussia's difficulty and diffidence; which last is not surprising with this country, both on account of what has happened personally in regard to him here, and the great fluctuation of administration for some time past.

Lord Grantham⁽¹⁾ and Mr. Robinson⁽²⁾ have been in town, and desire their thanks to your Lordship, perfectly happy in the arrangement. Governor Lyttelton⁽³⁾ is ready to do his utmost to

(1) See Vol. I. p. 96. His lordship was at this time one of the postmasters-general.

(2) The honourable Thomas Robinson, eldest son of Lord Grantham, at this time member for Christchurch. In November, he was appointed one of the lords of trade; in 1770, vice-chamberlain to the King; in 1771, ambassador to the court of Madrid; in 1781, first lord of the board of trade; and in 1782, secretary of state for the foreign department. He succeeded his father as second Lord Grantham in 1770, and died in 1786.

(3) William-Henry, sixth son of Sir Thomas, and brother of George first Lord Lyttelton. In 1755, he was appointed go-

execute what the King desires in Portugal; and Sir Joseph Yorke still declining Spain, through a persuasion that he can regain Prince Lewis to favour, a civil note from whom he encloses to General Conway, I have sent to Lord Buckingham⁽¹⁾ to come to town, and expect to find him on my return.

I shall be glad to have your Lordship's advice, at your leisure, in regard to a governor of Jamaica. It is most material that a fit person should go there, and soon; for the lieutenant-governor has to gain the favour of the people there. Your Lordship may, perhaps, at the same time, make this appointment assist other arrangements. I know Mr. Fitzherbert⁽²⁾, at the board of trade, in general looks that way.

vernor of South Carolina; in 1760, governor of Jamaica; and in October 1766, envoy-extraordinary to the King of Portugal. In 1776, he was created Baron Westcote of Ballymore, in the county of Longford; and in 1794, a British peer by the title of Lord Lyttelton, which had become extinct in 1779 by the death of his nephew, the second lord. He died in 1808.

⁽¹⁾ John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire. In 1762, he was appointed ambassador to the court of Petersburg; and in 1776, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He died in 1793.

⁽²⁾ William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, esquire, at this time member for Derby, and one of the lords of trade, which situation he continued to hold till January 1772, when he terminated his own existence; "owing," says Dr. Johnson, "to imaginary difficulties in his affairs, which, had he talked of with a friend, would soon have vanished." The whole tenor of his life is acknowledged to have been a constant series of public and private acts of beneficence. In parliament, he distinguished himself as the promoter of every measure tending to advance the internal prosperity of the community. In him originated

Nothing can be so satisfactory as the state of India business is become. Notwithstanding the communication of government, the advice of the directors and of the honestest proprietors, they came to a declaration of increase of dividend by a great majority, composed of factious sets of men, and appointed the Thursday after to go greater lengths as to Lord Clive, &c. ; but though the majority was very great, the public confidence did not follow it, and the stock stood ; till they have been obliged, to prevent its falling, to retreat, and join the others in a general language of entire confidence in parliament. ⁽¹⁾

Your Lordship's

most faithful servant,

SHELBURNE.

many of the legislative provisions which have so materially contributed to the embellishment of the metropolis, and to the health, safety, and comfort of its inhabitants.

(¹) The following account of a conversation with Lord Chatham on the affairs of the East India Company, which took place at Bath a few days subsequent to the date of the above, is contained in a letter from Mr. Walsh to Lord Clive:—

“ Soon after the new administration was formed, the chairman and deputy chairman were sent for to the cabinet council, and were acquainted that, as the affairs of the India Company were likely to be taken into consideration by parliament, it would be proper for them to be prepared. An intimation of the kind could not fail to alarm, and affect the stock greatly. The quarterly court being over, I made an excursion to Bath, where Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and Lord Northington were assembled. My private motive for this journey was to discover their disposition towards the Company ; and, by means of my intimacy with Lord Camden, to endeavour to put you

P.S. There has been a large correspondence of the Duke of Choiseul's deciphered, which shows

on a good footing with Lord Chatham, who, there was some reason to apprehend, was not the best disposed either towards you, the present direction, or the Company. I recollected Lord Chatham's discourse to me (see p. 62.) about your acquisitions being too vast, and saw Shelburne, Barré, and the enemies of the present direction in the highest employs. Lord Camden immediately removed my apprehensions as to any thing hostile being intended against the Company. I told him that I was ignorant whether the directors had given the administration full information concerning the affairs of Bengal; but whatever their conduct might have been in that respect, I, as acting for Lord Clive, should use no kind of reserve with the administration; that Lord Clive, though a zealous servant of the Company, ever considered his duty to his country to be the first and greatest obligation upon him; that he had formerly submitted to Lord Chatham's consideration, whether the Bengal acquisitions were an object for the state or the Company (see Vol. i. p. 389.); and that, though the Company had in a manner been left to pursue their own measures in that respect, yet it was reasonable that, in such great prosperity as theirs, they should contribute liberally to the exigencies of the state; that your friends would readily concur in such a measure, and that I wished for an opportunity of assuring Lord Chatham of this; but as I knew him, particularly in his present ill state of health, to be inaccessible, I requested his lordship to report it to him. He advised my writing a note to see Lord Chatham, which I accordingly did, and was admitted; though it was then a favour, as I understood, he had only granted to Lord Camden. I should have mentioned that, before I left town, I waited on General Conway; made him the same offer of information; gave him a state of the revenues, and pointed out to him some of the means by which the commerce of the Company might be greatly advanced. He appeared quite unacquainted with these affairs, but very desirous to be informed.

“ It was the 11th of October that I saw Lord Chatham. I told him the occasion of my visit in almost the same words I had used to Lord Camden: in answer to which, after complimenting me on the purity, as he styled it, of my intentions, and

his sentiments very much at large. The Spaniards are in the same situation, in all appearance much embarrassed about Falkland's Islands; the ambassador seems to wait the return of his last courier.

of the liberal way in which I had considered this matter, he told me that all *matters of fact* relating to India would be very acceptable to him, though he did not wish to receive *propositions* on that head, as the affair was of too extensive and too difficult a nature for ministers to determine; that they could not undertake to decide, between the state and the Company, what was precisely proper for each; that the consideration must of necessity come into parliament; that by the means of so many gentlemen coming from different parts of the kingdom, and turning the subject different ways in their minds, many new lights might be gathered; that the crown had nothing to do in the affair, and that its ministers could only interfere in preventing unreasonableness and oppressions on one side or the other; and that the Company, in all cases, must subsist. On my giving him the state of the revenues, he seemed much surprised at the smallness of the amount, saying that Holwell and common report had made it much larger. He spoke very handsomely of you; said that he heard with concern of the virulent publications against you; that it was incumbent on the Company to support you strongly, and likewise to reward you. I mentioned how greatly the Company's commerce might be extended with the assistance of government; hinted the necessity there was of excluding foreigners from being stockholders, and sharing in our benefits; and concluded with observing, that every thing I had heard from him gave me the highest satisfaction, except the impracticability that he intimated of any arrangement between the administration and the directors before the meeting of Parliament.

“This is the substance of my conversation with this great man, who is certainly not only the most vigorous, but the most comprehensive and judicious minister this country ever had. I hope, in consequence of what I before wrote to you, that you have taken steps to conciliate and attach him. He has a greatness in himself, which makes him feel and assert the great actions of others.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

[In the hand-writing of his Secretary.]

Bath, Monday, October 5, 1766.

LORD CHATHAM still continues unfortunate in not having a hand to present himself to Lord Shelburne. Many respectful compliments and warm acknowledgments, for the honour of his Lordship's very obliging letter. He is most sincerely happy to understand from his Lordship, that the alarm at Bowood has proved unfounded, or at least prevented in the effects, and joins with Lord Shelburne in wishing most anxiously that his Lordship may find, on his return to London, accounts from other parts more satisfactory than when he left it.

Vigilance and vigour, on the part of government, are indispensable in the present situation, and the laws must be enforced. The letters written by the secretaries of state to the lords-lieutenants are extremely fit, and will, it is hoped, be productive of good effects.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Wednesday 5 o'clock.

[October 8, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

SINCE my return to town, I have seen Lord Buckingham. He declines going to Spain: he

did not mention all his reasons, but spoke of his connection with Mr. Grenville, and that his connections in the House of Commons required his presence, they having suffered much while he was in Russia; and, upon the whole, I must do his Lordship the justice to say, his conversation was extremely fair and open, respectful, extremely so, towards the King, and polite towards his ministers.

I have the honour to write to your Lordship, by the King's commands, to consult you upon it. It is certainly become highly necessary, in all appearance, that some one should be named. The Spanish ambassador of late has inquired almost daily about it. The Duke of Grafton, General Conway, and myself have, by the King's commands, consulted upon it, before writing to your Lordship, but without being able to hit upon any very proper person who is likely to accept it. Lord Hyde⁽¹⁾, Lord Grantham, and Sir James Gray⁽²⁾ were the only names that occurred. It is unnecessary to mention Lord Huntingdon or Lord Hillsborough, as they have offices here, which I suppose they would prefer to it. I was in hopes

(1) The hon. Thomas Villiers, in 1756 created Lord Hyde of Hendon, in the county of Wilts. During the reign of George the Second he had been minister at the courts of Dresden, Vienna, and Berlin. In 1748, he was appointed a lord of the admiralty; in 1763, joint postmaster-general; and in 1771, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In 1776, he was advanced to the earldom of Clarendon, and died in 1786.

(2) See Vol. II. p. 119.

that if Lord Buckingham had accepted, he and Governor Lyttelton might have kissed hands on Friday; and still, if any one occurs to your Lordship, you may be assured no time shall be lost after knowing your sentiments.

There is nothing new; except that addresses are come from London, Norwich, and Gloucestershire, returning thanks for what has been done to prohibit the further exportation of corn. I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, my Lord,

Your most faithful and obliged Servant,

SHELburne.

P.S. We still continue to have accounts of riots northward.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF SHEL-
burne.

[In the handwriting of his Secretary.]

Bath, Thursday, October 9th, 1766.

LORD CHATHAM desires to present many compliments to Lord Shelburne, and is still so unfortunately circumstanced as not to be able to write with his own hand; which he should more particularly wish to do, where the consideration of persons is in question. He thinks the Spanish embassy being again declined, where it was last proposed, has an unfavourable aspect for the King's service, in the

hands his Majesty has been pleased to entrust his affairs.

He begs Lord Shelburne will be so good as to lay him with all duty at the King's feet, expressing most humbly his extreme concern at not being able to submit to his Majesty's consideration a proper person for this important embassy, who, in the present indisposition to serve abroad, is likely to accept it. Lord Grantham, who would fill the commission with ability, would most probably, at his time of life, decline it. Lord Huntingdon⁽¹⁾, would, in all likelihood, go to Spain, if his Majesty were most graciously pleased to permit him to hold his office here, as the late Lord Albemarle did when he was ambassador in France; and Lord Huntingdon appears extremely proper, every way, for an embassy of such importance.

With regard to the riots, Lord Chatham thinks it his duty most humbly to submit his advice, that a special commission for trying rioters, guilty of felony, in order to make one example in each county, appears highly proper, and even absolutely necessary, for the support of any reverence to law and government, and to strike a more immediate awe into offenders.

The sooner Mr. Lyttelton kisses hands for Por-

(1) Francis Hastings, tenth earl of Huntingdon; to whom, on setting out upon his travels, in 1747, Akenside addressed his Ode beginning "The wise and good of every clime." He was appointed groom of the stole in 1761, and continued to hold the office till 1770. His lordship died in 1790.

tugal, the better. Lord Shelburne will be so good as to communicate the above to the Duke of Grafton and to General Conway, before his Lordship lays it before the King.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 9, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

I WAS yesterday honoured with your note, and am sorry to find by it that your Lordship has not regained the use of your hand; which, by the favourable account I had from Lord Chancellor, I imagined and hoped was totally free from the gout. The King's servants who are in town hope that from Bath they shall be relieved from drawing up any sketch of a Speech, as they are already with more business on their hands than can well be managed, and I believe have no turn for that sort of business, which your Lordship's experience must absolutely afford us.

The condition offered to Lord Cardigan was no other than this, that as Lord Northumberland professed he understood and desired that he might hold no office or post with the high honour he was to receive, the King had, on that footing, a design to prefer Lord Northumberland to it, and that the same being intended for Lord Cardigan, his Majesty *hoped* he would forward his purpose, by laying

down his post, at the same time the greatest dignity was conferred upon him. The King is thoroughly satisfied that the expectations given to Lord Cardigan are fully made good by this offer. I own that I see it so myself strongly; and even think that it would have been doing a favour by halves to Lord Northumberland, if he received it on so very different a ground from his colleague, who would have been pulled up to it by his Lordship. *Ministerially*, I think your Lordship need have no doubt of much dissatisfaction from a person so attached to the place he holds. From the King, I also understood, that there had been hopes conceived by his Lordship, that some cabinet office might have been thought of for him, through the many changes that have been of late years. I am obliged to enter into these little circumstances, to enable your Lordship to come more informed of his turn of mind to any directions I may receive from you upon it. I shall take no steps upon it till I hear from your Lordship.

I cannot be silent on another point, which I see, day after day, more hangs on General Conway's mind. He is in a situation which really nothing but his good wishes for the public could make him go through; so much does it differ from his natural turn, particularly as he sees himself secluded from his real profession, which no inducement will ever make him lose sight of. Unless he has some prospect of appearing in it on a proper footing, I am confident that he will remain an unhappy and a

hurt man. I have so studied him on this point, that I assure you my opinion is truly, that business suffers from the ascendant which this disappointment works on his mind, and I beg to submit it seriously to your Lordship's consideration. I am, with sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, October 9, 1766.

MY LORD,

LAST night I received a letter from my Lord President, who mentioned having acquainted your Lordship with the purport of it; and as I concluded from thence he had your approbation, I made no scruple of complying with his request, to recommend Mr. Serjeant Malone⁽¹⁾ to be a judge of the common pleas, whenever Mr. Marshall desired to retire. I am cautious of binding myself by any engagements, excepting where I think it would be

(¹) Brother of the celebrated Anthony Malone, one of the most eminent lawyers, orators, and statesmen, that Ireland ever produced; and father of Edmond Malone, the distinguished dramatic critic and commentator. He was called to the English bar in 1730, where he practised for some years, and in 1740 removed to the Irish bar. Shortly after the date of this letter he was appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland; which situation he held till his death in 1774.

acceptable to your Lordship, for me to oblige those who are connected with you.

It is so strongly reported here, that the Bishop of Derry ⁽¹⁾ cannot live long, that I will not delay asking your Lordship's advice what to do, in case of that vacancy on the bench, and to assure you, at the same time, that I will strictly obey whatever you recommend, either to propose my brother for the bishoprick of Derry, as there is an instance of Dr. Rundle's ⁽²⁾ being made so by Sir Robert Walpole at once, or to remove some other bishop to that see, and to give Mr. Frederick Hervey ⁽³⁾ an inferior bishoprick. I am so confident, my dear Lord, that you will direct your friend to what is

(1) Dr. William Barnard. Notwithstanding this "strong report," the bishop lived till January 1768; when he was succeeded by the hon. and rev. Frederick Hervey, afterwards fourth earl of Bristol.

(2) Dr. Thomas Rundle was promoted to the see of Derry in 1734-5. He had been recommended to that of Gloucester by lord chancellor Talbot, but the appointment was strenuously opposed by bishop Gibson, from a notion of the doctor's being a Deist. An elegant compliment is paid to this prelate in Lord Lyttelton's *Persian Letters*. "If the visible mark of your religion," says his lordship, "be meekness, or charity, or justice, or temperance, or piety, all these are most conspicuous in the doctor." Swift also, in a letter to Pope, bears testimony to his virtues. "His only fault," he says, is, "that he drinks no wine, and I drink nothing else:" to which Pope replies, "I am glad you think of Dr. Rundle as I do: he will be a friend and benefactor to your unfriended, unbenefitted nation; he will be a friend to the human race wherever he goes."

(3) Mr. Frederick Hervey was at this time one of the King's chaplains in ordinary, and a principal clerk of the privy seal.

right, that I shall not determine any thing without your Lordship's opinion. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful as well as most affectionate attachment, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
and most faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Saturday, October 11, 1766.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to communicate your Lordship's letter to the King, having first shown it, as you desired, and I have his Majesty's commands to acquaint your Lordship, that he so entirely meets your idea, that he had intended himself to have proposed it. I have by his commands written to the Lord Chancellor to acquaint him of it, and to desire his sentiments upon immediately issuing a commission accordingly.

General Conway and I, by the King's permission, mentioned the going to Spain to Lord Huntingdon, in the manner proposed by your Lordship; but he desired to decline it, on account of his health not agreeing with that climate. I should be remiss if I omitted to add, that his Majesty was pleased to make the most gracious inquiries after your Lord-

ship's health. I have the honour to be, with many good wishes for it, your Lordship's

Most obliged and
devoted servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF SHEL-
BURNE.

[In the handwriting of his Secretary.]

Bath, Sunday, October 12th, 1766.

LORD CHATHAM, who has still the regret not to be able to acknowledge with his own hand the honour of Lord Shelburne's very obliging letter by Ardouin, begs leave to assure his Lordship by this note of his respectful compliments, and presumes, through Lord Shelburne's goodness, to lay himself with all duty at the King's feet, and most humbly to express his grief at being so long deprived of the honour of attending the royal presence, to receive his Majesty's most gracious orders. In the mean time, it is the greatest consolation to learn, that his Majesty has deigned to honour with his gracious approbation the ideas he ventured most humbly to submit to his Majesty. He wants words to express, how deeply he is penetrated with the King's goodness in condescending to think of the health of his Majesty's most dutifully devoted servant.

Lord Chatham is extremely sorry that the embassy to Spain still remains unsettled. Sir James Gray would undoubtedly execute the commission with very sufficient ability; if, therefore, he is willing to go, it seems most advisable, upon the whole, to think of him for that embassy, if it be his Majesty's pleasure. Nor, indeed, can this important matter admit of further delay.

If, in the settling this mission, circumstances should allow of it, Lord Chatham would be happy, could he be permitted to recommend the secretary to the embassy; which he has extremely at heart to obtain for Lord Cardross.⁽¹⁾ He is a young nobleman of great talents, learning, and accomplishments, and son of the Earl of Buchan, an

(¹) David Stewart Erskine. In the following year, he succeeded his father as Earl of Buchan; see Vol. II. p. 426. Though duly gazetted, Lord Cardross declined to proceed with Sir James Gray to Madrid, on the score of his being a person of inferior rank. Boswell relates, that in discussing the question with Sir Archibald Macdonald, Dr. Johnson observed, that perhaps in point of interest the young lord did wrong, but in point of dignity he did well. Sir Alexander insisted that he was wrong, and said that Lord Chatham intended it as an advantageous thing to him. "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "Lord Chatham might think it an advantageous thing for him to make him a vintner, and get him all the Portugal trade; but he would have demeaned himself strangely, had he accepted of such a situation: Sir, had he gone secretary while his inferior was ambassador, he would have been a traitor to his rank and family." Upon this Mr. Croker neatly observes: — "If this principle were to be admitted, the young nobility would be excluded from all the professions; for the superiors in the profession would frequently be their inferiors in personal rank. Would Johnson have dissuaded Lord Cardross from entering on

intimate friend of Lord Chatham, from the time they were students together at Utrecht. ⁽¹⁾

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 14, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD CARDIGAN was with me this morning, to relate what had passed between the King and his Lordship, on the late occasion, as well as fairly to lay open to me the feelings of his mind upon it, and the conduct which he thought himself bound to follow. He said that he knew not whether his office was disposed of, but if his Majesty understood him right, his expressions in the closet went to this, "that he hoped to be honoured with both or neither." I do not repeat the other circumstances that preceded, as your Lordship knows the whole of them. Lord Cardigan's language seemed, therefore, to convey to me, though I would not invite the words from him, that he found it impossible not to quit the office he held. Every ex-

the military profession, because at his outset he must have been commanded by a person inferior in personal rank? This, if ever it was a subject of real doubt, is now better understood; and young men of the highest rank think it no degradation to enter into the junior ranks of the military, naval, and diplomatic and official professions." — *Life*, vol. iii. p. 211.

(1) It appears, by this passage, that Lord Chatham received part of his education at Utrecht; a circumstance which is not alluded to by any of his biographers.

pression was personally kind and polite to myself ; and he added, that no intention of his arose from any desire of showing a peevishness of disposition ; of which even the appearance would hurt him at this time above all others, when the men he most honoured and regarded were in the administration.

I expressed my concern, that his Lordship had not allowed me to have any conversation with him before Lord Northumberland had kissed hands ; to which his answer was, that he felt also great regret on that head, “ but that now the matter seemed past all remedy.” My reply was, to desire his leave to communicate the whole of so delicate an affair to your Lordship, praying Lord Cardigan to rest quiet till I should have your answer. I added farther, that though the affair was much entangled, I did not see it without remedy, but in one point only. Finding that his Lordship conceived what I meant to allude to, I went on by saying, that the difficulty should be none in fact to any one of judgment, and that if his Lordship should follow the Duke of Northumberland, he would have the satisfaction of receiving that honour (provided it pleased the King to confer it on him) on a footing that at least made up for the trifling punctilio of the *pas*. For this circumstance he seemed to be quite satisfied, and I hope I have not gone too far in any thing I have said ; which I should not have ventured upon, but that the moment seemed to call for some decision ; and from what I had col-

lected from your Lordship's notes, I judged my language was conformable to what you would have wished it to be.

The whole of this transaction appeared so delicate, as well on account of the promise which Lord Cardigan conceived would not have come conditionally to be fulfilled, as also on my side, from the unfortunate mention of it at first by me, and the effect it might have, that I would not defer laying it before your Lordship. I shall follow implicitly your directions in it. If it is to be opened again in the closet, would it not be more respectful to ascribe it to delicacies of my own for having suggested a condition where (it is possible) his Majesty did not mean there should be any? As your answer guides my conduct, I shall entreat your Lordship to be as particular as the hand of a secretary will allow you to make it, and I am not without hopes to receive it in time for the King's levee on Friday.

I was misunderstood by your Lordship in regard to General Conway, if you thought I meant that he would decline his present post. If he is honoured with some military one, enough to show that he has not quitted that line, his mind will be easy, and he will go on with his civil business with alacrity; which, from a thorough knowledge of him, I know will never be the case without it. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 17, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE Duke of Montagu⁽¹⁾ this day kissed his Majesty's hand, with every sense of the high honour he received, as well as of the manner it was granted; which, I may say, was more conformable to the intention of each party, as the conversation I had with that lord was not necessary to be brought up as an inducement to the promotion. My phrase will appear dark to any one but your Lordship, who knows the circumstances.

On thinking over the House of Commons, it appears that the ability among the leaders will be at least divided, if not drawn up against the well-wishers to administration; though the numbers of the voters will be clear. Those who have undertaken the weighty affairs of government are in duty called upon to facilitate, by honourable means, its success. If the discontented are not in some measure broke into, I do see a strong phalanx of able personages, who will give full employment, by the business they will raise up. Among those, whom I should wish, and Mr. Conway also wishes, to see to support him, is Mr. Burke, the readiest man upon all points perhaps in the whole House.

(¹) The Earl of Cardigan was this day raised to the dignities of marquis and duke, by the titles of Marquis of Monthermer, and Duke of Montagu.

If I mistake not, he was offered the board of trade during the last year and declined it, aiming at a higher board, or some equivalent.⁽¹⁾ I cannot help saying, that I look upon it, that he is a most material man to gain, and one on whom the thoroughest dependence may be given, where an obligation is owned.⁽²⁾ In lawyers also I see some weakness. I am anxious to know Mr. Hussey's⁽³⁾ sentiments on the present system, and should be glad to hear from your Lordship whether some opening should not be tried to get our solicitor-general⁽⁴⁾ into the

(1) Mr. Burke himself says, that "in order to be out of the way of the negotiations which were then carrying on very eagerly, and through many channels, with the Earl of Chatham, he went to Ireland very soon after the change of ministry, and did not return until the meeting of parliament: he was at this time free from any thing that looked like an engagement; he was further free at the desire of his friends; for the very day of his return the Marquis of Rockingham wished him to accept an employment under the new system." He adds, "he believes he might have had such a situation, but again he cheerfully took his fate with the party."

(2) General Lee, in a letter to the Prince Royal of Poland, written in the following month, says, — "An Irishman, Mr. Burke, is sprung up in the House of Commons, who has astonished every body with the power of his eloquence, and his comprehensive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politics, and commercial interests. He wants nothing but that sort of dignity annexed to rank and property in England, to make him the most considerable man in the lower house." — *Life*, p. 290.

(3) Richard Hussey, esq., attorney-general to the Queen, and counsel to the admiralty. He was returned to the new parliament for East Looe.

(4) In the March following, Mr. Willes was returned for Leominster, in the room of Mr. Chase Price, who accepted the Chiltern hundreds.

House. Whether Mr. Nugent has made any opening to your Lordship I am ignorant; though I understand that nothing is more likely.⁽¹⁾

We are all extremely anxious with the hopes of seeing your Lordship in town by the end of the month; and that it may be in perfect health is the earnest wish of, my dear Lord, him who has the honour to be, with the most thorough esteem and respect, your Lordship's,

Most faithful and humble servant,

GRAFTON.

P. S. Mr. Conway would be as glad as your Lordship to have the motion by Mr. Horace Walpole⁽²⁾; but he knows that there is not a member in the House whom he could not induce to undertake it sooner than him. Would not a line from your Lordship induce Lord Bruce to undertake ours? I do not know him at all. I dare not hope that you have succeeded with Lord Spencer.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Vol. II. p. 418. In the December following, Mr. Nugent was appointed one of the lords of trade, and raised to dignities of a baron and viscount of Ireland, by the title of Baron Nugent of Carlanstown, and Viscount Clare.

⁽²⁾ "You have made me laugh," writes Horace Walpole to Mr. Conway, on the 18th, "and somebody else makes me stare. But why me? Here is that hopeful young fellow, Sir John Rushout, the oldest member of the House, and, as extremes meet, very proper to begin again; why overlook him?"

⁽³⁾ John, first Earl Spencer, grandfather of the present earl. Mr. Henry Flood, in a letter to Lord Charlemont, says, — "Lord Spencer, I saw, moved the address; he was inaudible.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Saturday, October 18, 1766.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship will receive enclosed a letter from Lord Rochford. He is now ready to set out for Paris. I should be unjust towards his Lordship, if I did not join him in wishing very much that he could have the advantage of those lights, which your Lordship's conversation certainly would give him, if it is not inconvenient. It would be troublesome to submit to your Lordship all that has passed from me to him, on the different points pending. The three articles proposed to be added to the instructions given the former ambassador will convey to your Lordship the general line of what I took the liberty to recommend more particularly to his attention. The article of Dunkirk I found very strongly stated in the former instructions. The Duke of Richmond made Dunkirk his road. Lord Rochford begs not to do this; as he says it was the first thing that disgusted not only the court but the people of France against the Duke of Richmond; but that he will be very ready to go

Lord Hillsborough seconded it, and what he said was a bad opposition to it. Lord Suffolk did it much more favour by opposing it; he spoke pompous nothings. Lord Shelburne was better, and the Duke of Grafton worse, than I expected. Lord Lyttelton was reasonable, and Lord Temple as bad as he could be."

some time hence from Paris to examine the state of it.

I took care to lay before the King the contents of your Lordship's last letter. It had come round to the King, that if a nobleman was not sent to Spain, Prince Masserano ⁽¹⁾ would be recalled, in order to send a man of inferior rank. This, as well as other considerations, has made the King very desirous some nobleman should be found, and made General Conway think of Lord Hillsborough. I cannot say it met my idea ; not because I do not think Lord Hillsborough most extremely fit, but I am convinced, all things considered, that he will also decline : but as the King put it upon my saying, that his affairs might suffer by a delay of ten days, and that otherwise he thought it convenient for his service that the offer should go, having stated my opinion, I did not think the objection of weight enough to urge it further. This matter therefore waits till Lord Hillsborough comes. As he is expected on the 22d or 23d, it prevents General Conway's writing to him ; which he had received the King's commands to do. If he declines, the King has ordered me directly to send for Sir James Gray. I shall certainly not forget your Lordship's commands as to Lord Cardross ; of whom the King entirely approves.

The Duke of Grafton is very diligent at the treasury, and I hope your Lordship will find against

(1) Spanish ambassador at the court of London.

you come to town every thing very much prepared for the consideration of the cabinet. I have the honour to be, your Lordship's

Most faithful servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Bath, Sunday, October 19, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

THOUGH I can hardly hold a pen, I make this early effort to express my best acknowledgments for the honour of your several very obliging letters, and to return your Lordship many thanks for your repeated goodness. The additional articles of instruction to Lord Rochford appear to me very proper. I am not a little flattered by the wish your Lordship and Lord Rochford so very obligingly express, with regard to any lights of mine, concerning the embassy to Paris; but as it must be impossible for me to enter here, at this distance and on the sudden, into a matter already very properly settled, I cannot think of my Lord Rochford's taking the trouble of a journey, which could no way be of any use to the King's service. If I am able, I purpose going about Wednesday next for one day to Burton Pynsent.

The idea of a change in the board of trade, by proposing the embassy to Spain to Lord Hills-

borough, was, I confess, the thing in the world the least expected by me. What are the motives to this desultory step, unfixing the most critical office in the kingdom, so happily fixed, through and by my channel, I cannot imagine. The favour I have to beg of your Lordship is, that when the offer is made to Lord Hillsborough his Lordship may be expressly told, that the proposal *does not come with my advice or suggestion*. Had I judged that Lord Hillsborough could, without great prejudice to the King's affairs, be spared from his Majesty's very important service at home, I should certainly have thought of his Lordship for Spain, *first not last*. Let me add to this, that I collected from his Lordship, that the nature of the business where he is was acceptable to him.

I own this incident has made no small impression upon my mind, and gives abundant room to think that I am not likely to be of much use. I will, however, my dear Lord, stop my pen before I grow too serious, and wait a little longer for grounds to form a better judgment of what is intended by the situation I have unworthily the honour to be called to by the King's gracious favour.

Give me leave to say, that I rely on your Lordship's despatch to quicken the special commission, which ought not to be long in coming out. The solicitor of the treasury may soon collect the necessary evidence. The draught of the King's speech shall be sent to the Duke of Grafton on Tuesday next. I hope to be able to embrace your

Lordship in town about the 4th of November. I am ever, with the truest esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithfully devoted

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF HERTFORD TO THE RIGHT HON.
HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY.

Paris, October 20, 1766.

MY DEAR HARRY,

I THINK it right to give you some account of a conversation I had yesterday with the Duke of Choiseul at Versailles. I can do it with safety, as Colonel Burgoyne is returning to England, and you will make any or no use of it as you think proper.

I was sitting with my old acquaintance, the Comte de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador at this court. The Duke came in and sat between us, and began the conversation with that ease and freedom with which we have often talked of the affairs of Europe: he asked me if the system of my court, as a friend who must have some knowledge of it, was that of peace? I told him, though I was in no political secret or ministerial office, I could venture to answer positively and affirmatively to that question, as long as his court and the powers in alliance with France meant to preserve that system upon a reasonable and just footing.

The Duke said, I must have no doubt of the disposition of his court, who knew the King and its present ministers so well as I did ; but that it required all the confidence that could be given to the mind of man to believe that my court was equally sincere. I asked him what had appeared in Europe, or upon what transactions his suspicions had arisen ? He told me our alliances in the North, which we were strengthening by every possible means, were becoming formidable ; that we had made a treaty with Russia, had the friendship of Denmark, had gained the court of Sweden, that unhappy insignificant power which they now resigned to its present system, and seemed to propose, with the assistance of the King of Prussia, whom we were courting, to arm the North against the South. My answer was very natural, that I was in the secret of no cabinet, and could only talk the language of a reader of a common newspaper ; but that I had understood that the treaty with Russia was no other than a commercial one ; that I did not suppose the alliances to which he alluded, even supposing them to subsist, were of an offensive nature, and that it was perfectly agreeable to every principle of reason and policy to preserve a balance of power in the North, where I must conclude they had their negotiations likewise, without giving any just cause to suspect that our views were of such a nature as he had supposed ; especially when it was said, that France, Spain, and the court of Vienna were so closely united in their political plans.

M. de Choiseul then said, that he had taken that opportunity of talking to me, because he wished that my friend, the Comte de Fuentes, should be privy to what he said upon the establishment we were going to make in the Isles Maloüines ⁽¹⁾, and the just jealousy that Spain entertained upon our expedition into the South Sea. He said this matter was of so serious a nature, that he had already, by his own influence with the Spanish ministers employed at Paris and London, prevented a memorial being presented at the court of London, which was little less than a declaration of war, and that he had sent a messenger to Comte Guerchy ⁽²⁾ relative to this matter, till time could be given for the two courts to know better upon what foundation these expeditions were made. He then told me, in the presence of M. de Fuentes, that when M. de Bougainville had made an establishment there for the court of France, it had given such offence to the Spanish court, that they were immediately obliged to desist from any further attempts upon it, without interrupting the harmony which at present subsisted between them ; though there was not the same reason for jealousy whilst that intimate connection lasted, as there would naturally be with a power so formidable at sea as England was. To this matter I could properly make no other answer, than that

(¹) The islands of Falkland ; at this time improperly and affectedly called by the French, les Isles Maloüines.

(²) French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of London.

commercial nations were desirous of trading and knowing the coasts of all parts of the world, and that if peace was to be preserved, the continuation of it was more likely to be obtained by confidence than by unreasonable suspicion ; and that if the matter was thought of so serious a nature to the court of Spain, I took it for granted M. de Masserano would talk to the English ministers upon it. He then told me, from his private judgment, that he thought it essential that the English minister intended for that court should be named, and sent as soon as he could with convenience to Madrid. I saw in this he likewise insinuated some jealousy of our designs, and I thought myself empowered to remove it by saying, it was the choice of the fittest person that had hitherto retarded it. The world at Paris is, I find, in possession of the uneasiness of the court of Spain, and with their usual quickness have determined that we shall soon have a war.

I have been received at the court of Versailles by the King and his family in a most distinguished manner ; of which I desire you will express my sentiments in the most grateful and respectful manner to the Comte de Guerchy. I propose leaving Paris the 3rd or 4th of next month for England.

Believe me at all times,

my dear Harry,

most truly and affectionately yours,

HERTFORD.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Whitehall, Tuesday, two o'clock.
[October 28, 1766.]

MY LORD,

I AM extremely glad Sir James Gray has taken a resolution to wait upon your Lordship himself, as he will be better able to explain his feelings and situation than I can undertake to do. General Conway made not the least hesitation to give up all thoughts of the offer to Lord Hillsborough, the moment I told him your Lordship's opinion: the King likewise, upon being told the consequence your lordship thought Lord Hillsborough might be of to his service at home, was pleased immediately to order me to apply to Sir James Gray; who, I make no doubt, will inform your Lordship very punctually of all that has passed. I can only say upon it, that it is not without a regret of conscience, that I have taken advantage of his irresolution, arising from conscientiousness on his part, to persuade him to undertake an embassy of fatigue and some responsibility. I took care to mention Lord Cardross to him, and to fix it early.

I have nothing further to add upon this matter, except that Captain Hervey last night asked me whether it was fixed, that he had heard a peer was wished for, and that he would not scruple to tell me, in very great confidence, it was his opinion Lord Sandwich might be brought to take it; that,

as his friend, he wished it excessively, and as a friend to administration, he thought it might accelerate further arrangements ; alluding, I believe, to the Duke of Bedford's. ⁽¹⁾ He did *hint*, with a good deal of address, something of the same sort to me ten days ago ; but I own I felt, and knew from experience, all that to be such dangerous ground, that I did not like to be forward to take it up. I now, however, mention it to your Lordship, as it is in all respects proper I should mention it.

I have not let half a day pass, since I received your Lordship's letter, without thinking how I

(1) The following account of a conference, said to have taken place at this time at Bath, between the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chatham, appeared originally in the Political Register, and has found a place in the several memoirs and histories of the period : — “ Lord Chatham opened the conference with his Grace, by making the strongest assurances, that he should be particularly happy to see the King's administration countenanced and supported by his Grace's approbation and interest. The Duke, making no reply to this exordium, Lord Chatham proceeded by saying, that he would frankly lay before his Grace the principal measures he intended to pursue. He intended ; first, to keep the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the princes upon the Continent, that they did the same ; secondly, to enter into no continental connections, and to make no subsidiary treaty with any European power ; thirdly, to observe such a strict and rigid economy, as should command the approbation of the most frugal member of parliament. The Duke replied, that these were the very measures for which he had always contended : they were *his* measures, and he would certainly support them, whether or not his friends were in power. Not a word was spoken of the subject of America, nor of any arrangements. They parted in similar conceptions, that this interview was merely preparatory to another ; and this accounts for a great part of the Bedford interest being neuter at the meeting of parliament.”

could forward the commission. The lawyers have assured me, that every thing will be ready for the Chancellor to-night. I intend seeing him as soon as possible, to know whether they have kept their word. Our foreign negotiations are at least safe : I hope I should not flatter your Lordship or myself, if I were to say that they are even getting upon better ground in general. However, I am at the end of my line, and can go but little further without your Lordship's advice : but as you give me hopes of seeing you so soon, I forbear to trouble you at present on that head. I am, with truest esteem and respect,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
and faithful servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Bath, October 29, 1766.

MY LORD,

I SIT down with particular satisfaction to return your Lordship many thanks for the honour of the letter Sir James Gray was so good as to be the bearer of. I have the pleasure to be able to acquaint your Lordship that, at last, this forlorn embassy to Spain is fixed, and I think very happily for the King's service ; as Sir James Gray, who will carry

very adequate abilities to the important work, will also carry another necessary ingredient to a foreign minister, I mean a cheerful and zealous attachment to the great business with which he is charged. He did indeed express at first some doubts, more of modesty than disinclination; though as to wishes, they certainly did not lead him again abroad: but I must do him justice in saying, that a very commendable sense of duty to the King and true zeal for his Majesty's service soon determined his resolution; and he obeys the King's gracious commands with becoming cheerfulness and devotion to that duty. The continuation of the pension granted as a reward of past services seems very unexceptionable, and I understand has been already favourably received when your Lordship mentioned it.

I am happy to hear that the special commission was ready for signing, and I will trust that no delays can happen in your Lordship's power to prevent. My Lord Chancellor will not fail to co-operate in expediting this necessary and much desired measure. Accept, my dear Lord, my best acknowledgments for the trouble you have allowed me to give you, with regard to the intended offer of the embassy; in which matter Mr. Conway has been very obliging to drop his intention. Your Lordship's goodness in facilitating my wishes for Lord Cardross claims likewise many warm thanks. As I hope to have the pleasure of embracing your Lordship by the middle of next week, I will not

touch on business, foreign or domestic, further than to say, I wish either topic were more inviting. I am, with truest esteem and respect,

My dear Lord, your Lordship's

most obedient and affectionate

humble servant,

CHATHAM. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) The parliament met on the 11th of November. The scarcity formed the principal topic of the King's speech. The address was opposed in both Houses, and amendments moved, importing an intention to bring in a bill to indemnify those who had advised the embargo. No details of the debate have been preserved in any collection; but the speech of Lord Chatham, who was sufficiently recovered to take his seat this day in the House of Lords, will be found ably reported in the following letter from Mr. Henry Flood to the Earl of Charlemont:—
“Opposition began with Lord Suffolk. It was urged, that the matter treated of being illegal, a bill of indemnity would be necessary to indemnify the persons concerned, and the constitution: it was added, that parliament might and ought to have been called sooner, and that if it had, perhaps this illegal act might have been avoided.

“Lord CHATHAM (who began with a very eloquent description of his feelings, from the new situation in which he spoke, in an unaccustomed place, before the most knowing in the laws, in the presence of the hereditary legislators of the realm, whilst he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled by majesty, and by all the tender virtues which encompass it), allowed, that it was physically possible to have called the parliament a fortnight or three weeks sooner, consistently with the order of prorogation subsisting at the time when the alarm was first suggested; but that this, instead of being of service, would have been detrimental, for that it would have deprived the country, in the very article of danger, of the presence of the principal persons of it, whose authority had been of so much weight in suppressing these tumults. That this was the fact certainly; and though it could not be pretended that this was exactly foreseen, yet he could not but rejoice that

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY TO
THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Little Warwick Street, November 22, 1766.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Lordship's note, acquainting me with the intention of dismissing Lord

nothing was done to deprive the country of such an effectual interposition: that parliament now met earlier than usual, and that it was not in itself desirable to hurry away upon every rumour all the principal persons of the nation from every extremity of the kingdom, and to crowd them into the metropolis. That such a conduct would be a mark of weakness and temerity, especially in a country in which sudden distresses are so liable to be created and aggravated, either from lucrative views, or from a factious spirit. That had he advised the calling of parliament upon the first intelligence he received, (which was but a suggestion of apprehended scarcity, and could be no more, as the harvest was not threshed out or known) he would justly have been censured for the alarm to the public, and the inconvenience to individuals, which a precipitate convention of parliament must have occasioned; a step which would have created an imaginary scarcity, though a real one had not existed. That these considerations determined his Majesty, with the advice of his council, to issue that order of prorogation under which parliament now met: that under the former prorogation parliament could not meet consistently with usage, for that it was always usual in the last proclamation of prorogation preceding the session, to declare the parliament to be prorogued to a certain day, then to *meet for the despatch of business*, — a material notification not inserted in the former, because it was not decided to meet then. That a new prorogation therefore was necessary, and that the usage was never to give less than forty days' notice. That this was a very salutary custom, and that nothing could be so perilous as sudden and surreptitious conventions of parliament. That it might well be considered as the law of usage and of parliament, though not perhaps of the land, that

Edgecumbe, on account of his having refused the bed-chamber in lieu of the treasurership of the house-

not less than forty days' notice should be given; that therefore the prorogation could not properly have been for less than forty days. That indeed parliament was by this last proclamation prorogued for somewhat more than forty days; but that this was done when only a surmise of scarcity had been suggested before the threshing out of the harvest, and whilst the danger had only been talked of, not expected. That it was some time after this prorogation before the conjecture of scarcity was verified, and the riots began; and that then the time for meeting of parliament was publicly fixed, and the interval could not be shortened except by calling parliament suddenly, contrary to proclamation, and with a stretch of power, and a precedent infinitely more dangerous than the delay of their meeting, and the issuing of the embargo. That this indeed was so illegal, that the legislature had thought it necessary, by a particular clause in the militia bill, to empower the crown to call parliament, in the particular cases of actual invasion or rebellion, in fourteen days, notwithstanding any prorogation to the contrary. That this delay therefore arising from parliament's being prorogued for somewhat more than forty days was not faulty at the time, no danger being in probable expectation then which could require an earlier meeting: that after the proclamation the delay was unavoidable; and that, in fact, it was so far from being detrimental, that it had been advantageous. He ridiculed the stress which had been laid upon the possibility of calling parliaments fourteen or fifteen days sooner, and of setting every member of parliament in the kingdom upon a horse to ride post up to London: and having thus defended the time of calling parliament, he proceeded to defend the issuing of the embargo during the interval of parliament by legal authority, as an act of *power, justifiable* before parliament on the ground of necessity; and read a paragraph of Mr. Locke to show, that though it was not strictly speaking *legal*, yet that it was *right* in the opinion of that great friend of liberty, that constitutional philosopher and liberal statesman."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Conway moved for leave to bring in a bill for protecting the persons acting under the

hold ; and I must confess to your Lordship, that I heard it with great concern and surprise, as I think Lord Edgumbe a man of that character and consideration, as should rather entitle him to the favour of government, than to any bad treatment; and as I understood, when this matter was formerly talked of, that there was no intention of taking his staff, but on some arrangement made to which his Lordship should consent. I own the bed-chamber, though in many respects very honourable, does not appear much to suit the age and situation of Lord Edgumbe ; so that I can neither be surprised at nor condemn his refusal ; and from the particular situation I stand in, well known to your Lordship, must confess myself much distressed and hurt with what passes on this occasion. I have not the least disposition to any factious or caballing spirit ; but your Lordship knows, besides my want of taste and ambition for high employments, the difficulties which lay upon me when I accepted ; and there are in such situations feelings, which no man of honour and delicacy can divest himself of.

I must farther say, that there are circumstances respecting Lord Edgumbe that in a very particular manner affect myself : one, the great regard and friendship borne to him by the late Duke of

order of council ; which passed both Houses. Upon this occasion, Mr. Flood states, that “ Lord Chatham, like himself, on hearing this affair, desired the bill to be made as strong as possible, and to be extended to the advisers, and to be made declaratory as well as indemnifying.”

Devonshire ; the other, that on a vacancy in one of his boroughs t' other day, he without hesitation at once chose my nephew Lord Beauchamp ; and I must also say, that the influence of Lord Edgumbe in parliament, his command of boroughs, and more than all, the offence that will, I doubt, be given to a set of gentlemen of great weight in this country, and the disquiet it may occasion his Majesty's government, are reasons that ought, in my poor opinion, strongly to weigh against this measure ; which I hope your Lordship will still prevent, before its execution ; as I must declare, without the least peevishness on the part in which I feel concerned, that I cannot with honour continue long in the situation I am in, unless I can preserve that reputation of fairness and consistency which I think I must forfeit by a seeming concurrence in such repeated injuries to those with whom I lately acted, and to whom I conveyed an engagement, as I understood that far from being the objects of particular neglect or resentment, they would rather, in preference, meet the favour and protection of government under the present administration.

I am very sorry I had no opportunity of laying my thoughts on this subject before your Lordship sooner, and shall now only add, that I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY TO
THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Little Warwick Street,
Friday 4 o'clock, November 25, 1766.

MY LORD,

HAVING this moment heard a thing which gives me the greatest pleasure, as it is a means of putting an end to the great difficulty I and several of my friends have been under, I cannot help taking the first moment of communicating it to your Lordship. It is the very handsome, and certainly accommodating offer of Lord Besborough of accepting the bedchamber instead of the post office ; provided it shall please his Majesty to give the latter to Lord Edgecumbe. I have no doubt of your Lordship's goodness and readiness to promote and obtain this from his Majesty, for the mutual ease of ministers, and so many concerned. I am, my Lord, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most humble
and obedient servant,

H. CONWAY. ⁽¹⁾

(1) " Upon the 25th of November," says the Political Register, " the Earl of Besborough, who was one of the joint-postmasters, offered to make room for Lord Edgecumbe, by proposing to resign that post in favour of his Lordship, and taking the bedchamber, which had been offered to that lord. But this obliging offer was rejected : upon which the Duke of Portland, the Earls of Besborough and Scarborough, and Lord Monson resigned the next day ; and these resignations were immediately followed by those of Sir Charles Saunders, Sir William Meredith, Admiral Keppel," &c.

THE EARL OF ROCHFORD TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.*(Private.)*

Paris, November 28, 1766.

MY LORD,

THE letter your Lordship honoured me with from Bath of the 19th ultimo required no answer, except my acknowledgments of the favourable opinion your Lordship flatters me you entertain of me; but I hope you will not disapprove my taking the opportunity of Captain Grenville's going to England, to write to your Lordship in a confidential manner, having nothing so much at heart, as to merit the continuance of your Lordship's approbation.

I do not mean to enter into a detail of business, as that is quite unnecessary with a person of your Lordship's experience and penetration; but I wish you to be informed, from an authority which I flatter myself you will depend on, of what is the present general system of this court. Your Lordship knows that a prime minister here has very extensive power, and I am convinced none of the Duc de Choiseul's predecessors ever enjoyed it in a greater extent. He has made himself absolutely necessary to the French King; and though much abuse in private is vented against him, it avails but little, and I see not the least probability of his losing any ground, unless war was to break out: in that

case, his friends seem to be apprehensive for him. From private motives, therefore, your Lordship sees he must be inclined to pacific measures. He is of a frank and generous disposition ; and though very open, not so indiscreet as people of his turn generally are, and I believe, conscious himself of being rather superficial, he is guarded in what he advances, and remarkable for being exact in what engagements he enters into. I have had the good luck to gain his confidence, and hope when occasion offers I shall be able to turn it to account.

The only essential affair that can disturb the peace of Europe is our disputes with Spain ; and I here found him so sincerely terrified (if I may use the expression) at the court of Spain's taking some absurd step, that I am confident there is no reasonable proposal he would not come into, for accommodating the Manilla ransom, and the affair of the islands of Falkland. Your Lordship knows much better than I what different turns political affairs may take, when they are left any time unsettled. I should apprehend, therefore, that the sooner these affairs can be adjusted the better. Your Lordship will have seen what I wrote by the last messenger to Lord Shelburne ; and if I did not mistake his Lordship, what I answer for to bring about will be entirely agreeable to the views of our government ; and your Lordship may be assured, that the Duc de Choiseul does not mean to have it appear in any shape, that the French court interferes in our dis-

putes with Spain. Any delicacy we may have upon that point I am persuaded I can set right here in a minute's conversation with the Duc de Choiseul. Besides the private views of this minister, I must apprise your Lordship that the rest of his colleagues, as well as the most thinking part of the nation, wish for peace : their finances are in a bad condition ; their present *contrôleur général* is so embarrassed to find ways and means, that it is believed he cannot keep his post ; and though doubtless they will attend to their marine, it will be a work of time to get it in order, and I shall make it my business to watch the progress they make.

The Duc de Choiseul has been particularly inquisitive in his conversations with me about your Lordship's inclinations to peace, and I hope you will not disapprove what I have said to him ; namely, that your Lordship has nothing more at heart than the preservation of the public tranquillity, whilst the dignity and honour of the crown of Great Britain were not offended, and no attempts made to prejudice the interests of the nation. He flattered me with saying, he received these assurances with pleasure from me, as he knew he could depend on what I said. Incapable of flattery, I can safely assure your Lordship I am not guilty of it in telling you the sanguine hopes I have, as well as every body I converse with here, of the wisdom and stability of your Lordship's measures ; and I need not say how happy I shall be, if I can successfully execute any plans you

shall propose, desirous as I am to merit your Lordship's confidence. I have the honour to be,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient
and most faithful humble servant,

ROCHFORD.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

November 28, 1766.

35 m. past 8, a. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I RETURNED so late from the play, that I thought it unfair to acknowledge the receipt of your letter containing the issue of your conversation with Lord Gower till this morning. I augur from it, that he will, on his return from Woburn, accept; for he is too well versed in the manners of the world, to have shown so good an inclination, unless he had been certain the proposal would meet with the Duke of Bedford's concurrence: but should it prove otherwise, it will not lessen my confidence, that my affairs will meet with success, whilst the advantage of my country is the sole end proposed by every measure, and that my administration follow strenuously my example in opposing factious bands, in whatever quarters they appear, though willing to receive able and good men, let their private friendships be where they will.

GEORGE R.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, November 29, 1766.

23 m. past 10, p.m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I AM sensible of your attention in sending me the account of Lord Gower's return from Woburn, and that no answer will be made till Monday evening. I am so totally indifferent as to what it may prove, that I can, without the smallest share of impatience, wait till then; though I think the answer might have been returned by this time, as the Duke of Bedford was enough prepared by your conversations at Bath, to have previously received the opinions of his friends; therefore I must own I think there is an air of more reserve than appears necessary.

GEORGE R. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In consequence of the recent resignations, Lord Chatham resolved to renew his overtures to the Bedford interest, and offered the situation of first lord of the admiralty to Lord Gower; who repaired on the 28th of November to Woburn to consult the Duke. On the 29th, Lord Chatham had a long conference with the King, when he stated his proposed alliance with the Bedford party; but his Majesty was so offended by the violent conduct of the Duke when last in office, that he entreated Lord Chatham to abandon all thoughts of that nobleman. He was promised the warmest and most effectual support: he yielded to these assurances, and several vacancies were filled up before Lord Gower returned from Woburn. The place of first lord of the admiralty was given to Sir Edward Hawke; the other vacant seats at the board were filled by Mr. Jenkinson and Sir Piercy Brett; and Lord Hillsborough and Lord Le Despenser were appointed joint postmasters. — See Political Register, vol. i. p. 339.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, December 2, 1766.

15 m. past 10, a.m.

LORD CHATHAM,

To prevent all delays, I shall be ready to receive you at twelve this day, that you may be enabled to see the Duke of Bedford ⁽¹⁾, and if he continues averse to my *ultimatum*, may set our other plans so far on foot, that many may kiss hands to-morrow.

GEORGE R.

(¹) On the first of December, Lord Gower returned from Woburn with the Duke of Bedford. The Duke waited on Lord Chatham in Bond Street: the conference was very short. His Grace requested some of the vacant offices for his friends, and an English peerage for the Marquis of Lorne. He asked nothing for himself. Lord Chatham began by putting an unqualified negative upon the peerage for Lord Lorne: he said, that very few of the public offices were now vacant, and mentioned the persons upon whom they had been conferred. From these answers the Duke was convinced, that all thoughts of negotiation were at an end, and next morning returned to Woburn. See Political Register, vol. i. p. 340. In a letter to Mr. Stanhope, of the 9th of December, Lord Chesterfield gives the following account of this negotiation:—“No mortal can comprehend the present state of affairs. Eight or nine persons, of some consequence, have resigned their employments; upon which, Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his people; but they could by no means agree, and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn; so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have; even he cannot be alone, *contra mundum*. Such a state of affairs, to be sure, was never seen before, in this or in any other country. When this ministry shall be settled, it will be the sixth in six years time.”

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's, m. past eleven, p. m.
[December 2, 1766.]

LORD CHATHAM,

ON my return from the ball-room, I found your letter containing the Duke of Bedford's extravagant proposal. Indeed I expected, from his choosing to deliver his answer in person, that he meant to attempt obtaining an office or two in addition to those offered; but could not imagine that even the rapaciousness of his friends could presume to think of more than that.

I know the uprightness of my cause, and that my principal ministers mean nothing but to aid in making my people happy; therefore I cannot exceed the bounds you acquainted Lord Gower were the utmost that would be granted. This hour demands a due firmness; 't is that has already dismayed all the hopes of those just retired, and will, I am confident, show the Bedfords of what little consequence they also are. A contrary conduct would at once overturn the very end proposed at the formation of the present administration; for to rout out the present method of parties banding together, can only be obtained by a withstanding their unjust demands, as well as the engaging able men, be their private connections where they will. I shall be ready to receive you to-morrow at two o'clock at the Queen's house.

GEORGE R.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

[December 3, 1766.]

LORD CHATHAM,

THOUGH the Duke of Bedford has declined, on not obtaining farther concessions than those proposed through the channel of Lord Gower, I am glad his behaviour was proper ; as it gives me the strongest reason to judge, that the difficulties he has made have not originated in his mind, but are owing to others. You will therefore proceed in the other arrangements.

GEORGE R. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) Some further light is thrown upon this negotiation in the following letter from Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell, of the 14th of December : — “ I thought of writing you an immediate account of the late very factious and ill-judged resignations ; but on farther consideration I deferred it till the alterations consequent thereupon should be made. I once conceived that the Duke of Bedford would have come into employment. His Grace and Lord Chatham had two conferences, and, as it is said, parted civilly, but they could not agree upon terms. Public measures were not, I believe, what the negotiation split upon. The vacant offices have since been given in the manner which the public newspapers have told you, except Lord Despensers’s appointment to the post office. Most of those who have been driven out of the King’s service by different administrations are now restored to it ; and I think it more for the honour and dignity of government first to do acts of justice, than to begin by gaining enemies. Lord Chatham declares to all the world, that *his great point is to destroy faction* ; and he told the House of Lords the other day, ‘ that he could look the proudest connection in the face.’ You must have observed, that Lord Bute’s friends have not been forgotten ; and I believe his Lordship is much better inclined to the present administration than he has been to any since his own. Indeed

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

(*Private.*)

Berlin, December 6, 1766.

MY LORD,

As in my letters to Mr. Secretary Conway by this messenger I have given an ample account of what passed in the audience I had of the King of Prussia at Potsdam, on the 1st instant⁽¹⁾, I am

this is the only one which has treated him with decency. My conclusion from the whole is, that the present state of things is likely to continue, or rather to improve; for when ambitious or avaricious men find that there is a strength sufficient to carry on measures without them, they are more likely to accede on reasonable terms. Our friend Lord Hillsborough has left an office which he did not like. It had the appearance and confinement of business without the reality or usefulness of it. He is laid up in lavender at the post office till he shall be wanted elsewhere. I was destined for the admiralty, if Sir Edward Hawke had not accepted."—*Mitchell MSS.*

(1) The following is Sir Andrew's account of what passed at this audience: — "I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that I was received by his Prussian Majesty with great marks of condescension; that he heard me with attention, and answered with much temper and calmness. After some obliging inquiries concerning the state of my health, he asked me what my business was to-day. I told him that I had transmitted to my court a fair account of what had passed in the audience I had of him on the 13th of September last, and that by the answer to that despatch his Majesty had expressed his surprise that he, King of Prussia, should have received with so much coldness and indifference a proposition calculated for preserving the peace of Europe, and so peculiarly advantageous to his Prussian Majesty; that the King from predilection had made that opening to him, before any steps had been taken for the same purpose at the court of Russia; and his Majesty had expected, that the King of Prussia, sensible of this distinguished mark of his friendship and

now to give your Lordship, in confidence, a relation of a conversation I then had with that

attention, would have been more explicit in the answer he gave to a proposal of so great importance; that perhaps this might have been owing to my having failed in explaining to him the nature, the end, and intention of the alliance proposed, which I took occasion to say was entirely defensive, adopted to preserve the public tranquillity, and to counterbalance the pernicious effects the family compact might have upon the other powers in Europe; and that the King, my master, had therefore commanded me to ask this audience of his Prussian Majesty, in order to obtain an explicit answer from him with regard to the alliance proposed; that if he approved of it, his Majesty was willing to go hand in hand, and to concert with him every step that was to be taken to bring this great scheme to perfection; that as this alliance was intended for the common security and advantage of all the contracting parties, it was proposed to be established upon an equal, fair, and honourable footing, and that particular articles of the treaty would be more fully explained to him by Mr. Stanley, whose journey to Russia had been postponed till the King should be informed with more precision of the King of Prussia's real sentiments with regard to that measure. I therefore concluded with begging his Prussian Majesty to be as open and free with me upon this subject as he had been upon many other important occasions.

“The King of Prussia answered, with a smile, ‘You did not use to be so slow of apprehension. I really believed you had understood my meaning in the last audience, and I can now only repeat what I then said; for I still continue in the same opinion, that the alliance proposed, so far from contributing to preserve the public tranquillity, may be the means of interrupting it, and that suddenly, as it cannot fail to excite jealousy in the other powers of Europe, and perhaps to unite them more strictly together than they are at present. Things are now quiet: I wish they may long continue so. Associations of different powers upon a general plan are rarely of long duration, and seldom produce any good effect. Circumstances vary so fast, that there is hardly any possibility of making a provision, in a general treaty, for events that may happen. When the storm seems to be rising, and clouds begin to appear, then, and

monarch as a private man, and not in the character of a minister.

After the audience was ended, I took the liberty of observing to the King of Prussia, that I remarked with regret, in the course of the conversation, that he had not spoken to me with the same freedom and openness he was wont to do on former occasions, and that I suspected he had only given the specious, not the real reasons, for his disinclination to the treaty proposed. He answered, with good humour, that my conjecture was not absolutely without some foundation, and that he would own to me, as a private man, that it was not easy for him to forget the ill usage and injustice he had met with from our nation, at the time of

not till then, is the time of uniting together, and of concerting measures to ward off the impending danger. I am therefore unwilling to enter into schemes that may occasion new wars, and these are in general my reasons against the expediency of such a treaty at this juncture, which I desire you will lay fairly before the King your master, assuring him, at the same time, of the high sense I have of the repeated marks of his Majesty's friendship and confidence.'

"To this I replied, I should punctually obey his orders; but I took leave to observe, that it would be matter of wonder in England, that his Prussian Majesty should decline entering into a defensive alliance, proposed for the preservation of the present general tranquillity, especially of the peace of Germany, and which, in stead of exposing him, the King of Prussia, to danger, was so manifestly calculated for his particular advantage and security. Finding, after all I had said, that he still declined entering into his Majesty's views, I thought it unnecessary to press him any farther. I therefore took leave, by assuring him, that I should not fail to make a faithful report to my court of what had passed."—*Mitchell MSS.*

making the last peace, and he then enumerated particulars.

I replied, that it was not candid to impute to the nation the faults of private men, who were then unhappily ministers; that there was now a fixed and settled administration, whose way of thinking and acting was very different from that of their predecessors; that whilst your Lordship was at the head of it, he could reasonably have no sort of diffidence; that the triple alliance proposed was a favourite measure of your Lordship's, which you had much at heart, for preserving the public tranquillity, and for uniting the interests of the King with those of his Prussian Majesty.

The King of Prussia answered, "I have a very high opinion of Lord Chatham, and great confidence in him; but what assurances can you give me, that he has power, and will continue in office?" I replied, I had not the least doubt of either, as your Lordship was now the darling of the King and people. His Prussian majesty said, "that does not agree with my accounts from England." I assured him of the truth of what I had advanced, and that I believed the contrary reports had been raised by your Lordship's enemies. He said he wished it might be so; but till he saw more stability in our administration, he did not choose farther connections, and concluded by adding, "I have spoke to you with freedom, as a private man, and expect, upon your honour, that you will not make a bad use of it;" which I am sure of not

doing in communicating this to your Lordship only, and desiring, at the same time, the most perfect secrecy.

I own the King of Prussia's conduct amazes me. I had hopes, a little reflection would have shown him his real interest ; but vanity and caprice are often too strong for reason, and to these motives chiefly, I ascribe the answer to the King's salutary proposal ; for I do not even suspect his having views to an alliance in another quarter : if he is cool to our nation, he has the French in abhorrence and contempt ; of which he makes no secret. His plan seems to be (if he has any) to stand unconnected upon his own bottom ; which experience might have taught him is far from being a safe one.

Notwithstanding all that has passed I think it probable, that if our treaty with Russia be once settled, the King of Prussia must, for his own safety, either desire to be admitted into it, or throw himself into the arms of those who do not seem desirous of receiving him. But, my Lord, this leads me too far, and your Lordship can best judge, whether the laying this high-minded prince under such a necessity be a proper measure at this juncture.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest and most sincere respect,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.⁽¹⁾

St. James's Square, December 29, 1766.

MY LORD,

THE purport of my writing at present is to acquaint your Lordship, that Mr. Flood was with

(¹) Lord Chatham was at this time at Bath; the two houses having, on the 13th of December, adjourned till the 16th of January. "We have had a busy month," writes Horace Walpole to Mr. Montagu, "and many grumbles of a state-quake; but the session has, however, ended very triumphantly for the great Earl. I mean, we are adjourned for the holidays for above a month, after two divisions of 166 to 48, and 140 to 56. It is to be regretted, that no reports of the proceedings of this "busy month" should have been preserved. The following brief sketch of what took place in the House of Commons on the 25th of November is contained in a letter from Mr. Henry Flood to Lord Charlemont:—

"The affair of the embargo, aggravated by the multitude of private discontents which mingled with it, produced a ferment, and encouraged all the parties that are unsatisfied to join against Lord Chatham on Tuesday last. Beckford was chosen by him to make a motion for examining into the state of the East India Company. This motion contained offensive matter, and was offensively introduced. Our friend Burke rose first in opposition, and acquitted himself very honourably. Yorke, G. Grenville, Thurlow, Rigby, Dowdeswell, Wedderburne, all joined. Charles Townshend stated the matter quite new; disclaimed all the offensive parts, and made a very artful, conciliating, able, and eloquent speech. Barré, Conway, the attorney-general, the master-of-the-rolls, Hans Stanley, &c., spoke in favour of the general ground of the motion; upon the whole, however, there was little concert, and not much ability in the defence. The opponents were more successful upon the whole, though no one person near Townshend. He is the orator; the rest are speakers. I have heard him frequently this time, and always well: one remarkable speech of his I missed, but I went to see him the day after; I lamented the loss I had sustained by my absence, and he remedied it by speaking excellently on the same subject to me in his room. The ques-

me this morning to take his leave of me, as he is obliged to return to Dublin ; but he said he had so

tion was carried in favour of the resolution, amended by Conway, by 129 to 76. The Bedfords, Rockingham, Portland, Devonshire, Temple, Grenville, Yorkes, and the friends of the Company all united. Some of Lord Bute's were against administration, some went away, and Oswald and Elliott were silent. Hamilton voted with the minority, but did not speak."

Sir Matthew Fetherstonehaugh, member for Portsmouth, and a considerable proprietor of India stock, in a letter to Lord Clive of the 30th of December, thus describes some of these debates : —

" In a question like this, about the right of property and the forfeiture of a charter, one would have thought that the opinion of almost all the lawyers in the house might have been attended to ; but they were called by Colonel Barré ' a sort of *heavy artillery*, which did little execution ;' for which the master of the rolls called him, instead of the *honourable* gentleman, the *valiant* gentleman. Mr. Grenville, on both days, defended the Company's rights with a force that was unanswerable, always declaring that, if the Company wanted the renewal of their term, or any other favour from the public, they should be made to pay for it, in the best bargain which could be made for the public ; but protesting against extorting money from them by the terror and threats of parliamentary power. But the finest piece of oratory was Mr. Burke's, late secretary to Lord Rockingham. After pointing out the ill effects which so violent a measure might have on the public credit, — ' But perhaps,' said he, ' this house is not the place where our reasons can be of any avail : the *great person* who is to determine on this question may be a being far above our view ; one so immeasurably high, that the greatest abilities (pointing to Mr. Townshend), or the most amiable dispositions that are to be found in this house (pointing to Mr. Conway), may not gain access to him ; a being before whom " thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers (waving his hand all this time over the treasury-bench, which he sat behind), all veil their faces with their wings : " but though our arguments may not reach him, probably our prayers may ! ' He then apostrophised into a solemn prayer to the Great Minister above, that

great a desire of paying his respects to your Lordship, that instead of setting forward to go by Chester directly, he would go down to Bath, on purpose to visit the Earl of Chatham. I imagine he will be at your Lordship's door on Thursday next. He was so much hurt before at not having been with your Lordship, that I really must entreat it as a very great favour that you will be so good as to have some conversation with him. I have reason to hope he is well inclined; but I know not how great a disservice it may be to me in Ireland, if any unexpected course should make him go back without being admitted to your Lordship. I believe his sentiments about the septennial bill coincide with your Lordship's; but I told him very truly, that as I had flattered myself to the last moment you would have found time to talk with him, I never opened upon business with him; choosing rather he should know from the fountain-head what system was intended, and what measures would be pursued, as the whole would come to him with more dignity, propriety, and clearness from your Lordship than it could be suggested by me; that I had done enough to

rules and governs over all, to have mercy upon us, and not to destroy the work of his own hands; to have mercy on the public credit, of which he had made so free and large a use. 'Doom not to perdition that vast public debt, a mass seventy millions of which thou hast employed in rearing a pedestal for thy own statue.' Here Augustus Hervey called him to order, to the regret of many."

evinced my own disposition to him, to the Earl of Tyrone, and to all their connections ; that as I had no commands from the King, but such as were for the general good, nor any purpose to serve for myself or my family, I meant not to govern by any faction or party, but would rely on the support of those who had the national interest at heart, and should seek to distinguish those who were eminent for their integrity and their abilities ; and therefore I would hope to have him my friend.

This is, as nearly as I can recollect, what passed between us ; but he will explain himself more fully to your lordship. I shall not presume to add my own wishes or opinions more minutely at present ; you, my Lord, can secure him to government by your weight. I shall be convinced whatever turns out will be for the best. I have the honour of being, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, most

devoted, and most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO HENRY FLOOD, ESQ.

Bath, Friday, January 1, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM, who is just returned to Bath, presents his compliments to Mr. Flood, and will be very glad of the honour of seeing him to-morrow evening, at seven o'clock, if that hour be convenient to Mr. Flood.

HENRY FLOOD, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Saturday Evening.
[January 3, 1767.]

MY LORD,

EVER since I had the honour to pay my respects to your Lordship at Bath, I have continued to labour under a severe feverish disorder, which at that time lay so heavy on me, that I am conscious I was wholly incapable of explaining myself with any degree of exactness or propriety. I wished to have acquainted your Lordship with the sentiments of some gentlemen, who have done me more honour than I deserve in permitting me to do so, and to whom, therefore, I think myself responsible; on which consideration alone I presumed to trouble your Lordship with any such explanation. But as I am sensible that, in the state in which I then was, I must have been wholly unequal to so delicate a task, I think it my duty to express my sense of it to your Lordship, inasmuch as I should not wish, by so imperfect a detail, to be the possible instrument of the smallest misconception either as to men or things, with respect to any person, and least of all, with respect to that person for whom I have the highest reverence. I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c.

HENRY FLOOD.⁽¹⁾

(¹) That the result of this meeting was not entirely satisfactory to Mr. Flood still further appears from the following passage in a letter addressed to him by Lord Charlemont, on the 13th:—

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

Downing Street, January 1, 1767.

MY LORD,

I DID not trouble your Lordship with any letter upon the conclusion of the last general court, because there was nothing, neither in the passages of that meeting nor in the result of it, material enough to require a particular communication: the result your Lordship must have heard before you left London; and it was difficult to form any probable expectation of any man's future conduct from the part which he took in a day circumstanced as that was; for the same reasons, I have not judged it necessary to write to your Lordship since, being very apprehensive of becoming in any degree answerable for events, which turn upon so great a

“ Your interview with the Patagonian has turned out pretty much as I expected. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, or for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a politician to lay aside disguise, or for a minister *here* to think as we would wish, with regard to our affairs. A great deal was, no doubt, to be expected from *his* peculiar character; but that characters, even the highest, almost always vary with a change in situation, the difference between this and your former conference is, I think, an incontestible proof. Indeed, my dearest Flood, we must depend upon ourselves alone. Firmness, as you well observe, may gain, or the want of it lose, every thing. I am, however, extremely glad that you have seen and conversed with him and highly approve of every thing you said: his being made acquainted with what I am proud to call *our* way of thinking may be of the greatest advantage.”

variety of persons, influenced and changed every hour by such a succession of views, passions, and interests, and in which a man of any experience in life must see the danger of authorising any sanguine ideas whatever.

But, my Lord, in the general court of yesterday a motion was made to empower the directors to treat with administration, and it passed without a division, in a fuller court than the last: it was moved by Mr. Franks, a person of excellent character and a great proprietor, supported by Sir James Hodges and Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Walpole, and others; opposed by Mr. M'Intosh, Mr. Dempster, and Mr. Johnston. I enclose a copy of the motion ⁽¹⁾, and also of another made by Sir James Hodges ⁽²⁾, and soon after withdrawn by him,

(1) "That it is the opinion of this court, to empower the directors to treat with administration upon all such points in the general state of the affairs of the Company as they shall judge to be most requisite and conducive to the extending their commerce, securing their possessions, and perpetuating the prosperity of the Company, in order to endeavour to bring about an amicable conclusion." — N.B. Mr. Walpole moved to insert *recommend* instead of *empowered*; which was carried, upon the distinction that the directors had the power, by the constitution of the Company, though they might not care to exert it without a recommendation. The word *amicable* was left out, at Mr. Wedderburn's motion, because it might be construed to imply a past disagreement; and some words were added, ordering the directors to report the issue of whatever negotiations should pass.

(2) "That it is the opinion of this court, that the chairman and deputy chairman be desired to wait on administration, and acquaint them that the court of proprietors, conscious of having done every thing in their power for the honour of the Com-

upon Mr. Walpole's objections. The sense of the court, and the argument of the whole day, was that the directors should treat upon all points taken together for the accomplishment of an agreement upon the ground of reciprocal advantage ; and no persons were so explicit or so warm in supporting the doctrine and the measure, in this sense, as Sir James Hodges and Mr. Wedderburn.

A doubt having been expressed in the former court, and left unanswered, whether, if they should empower the directors, administration would concur, the same thing was thrown out again yesterday ; upon which the chairman rose, and said, that he had reason to believe *that if the court should think proper to empower the directors to treat, the administration would hear and receive them :*

pany and the benefit of this country, after having for many years encountered difficulties almost insurmountable, at an immense expense to themselves, and at the same time conveyed through an uninterrupted channel one of the best streams of supply to the public revenue (whilst they have been contented with small dividends, very inadequate to their risk), cannot help being impressed with much concern, that their right to the first opening dawn of advantage, from which they hoped to receive adequate amends, should admit of a doubt ; and, though they have nothing to fear from inquiry, do nevertheless think it their indispensable duty to wait on administration by a recommendation, in order to endeavour to settle on principles of equity and moderation such matters as may effectually secure their rights and possessions, and promote the extension of their commerce, for the mutual benefit of the public and the Company ; whose interests, they apprehend, always have been, and must continue, reciprocal."

upon which, as I am informed, the day instantly took a turn favourable to the proposition.

It must be some time before the directors can, in their committee, either name the persons out of their own body who are to act for them, or prepare for the opening of the business ; but if it were not so, I should certainly decline all intercourse, separate from your Lordship, and wait the return of his Majesty's servants.

It is my sincere and earnest wish, for every motive public and private, which ought to influence an honest man, that this very important matter may come to a good issue ; because, independent of my natural anxiety for my little chance of reputation which I may have dependent upon it, I see nothing so sure to establish the lustre of his Majesty's councils, and to give vigour and authority to every measure and plan of government at home and abroad, as the natural consequences of an amicable and happy conclusion of this vast subject.

I am, with the greatest regard, and most perfect consideration, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and most faithful servant,

C. TOWNSHEND.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE RIGHT HON.
CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

Burton Pynsent, January 2, 1767.

SIR,

THE honour of your letter followed me to this place from Bath, whither I return to-morrow morning. I am impatient to express how sensibly I am obliged to you for so early a communication of the resolutions of the last general court. I need not tell you how entirely this transcendant object, India, possesses my heart and fixes my thoughts. It will not be hard, then, to judge of my sensations, on a dawn of reason and equity in the general court, so long delivered up to the grossest delusions of a mistaken self-interest, and shutting their eyes to the clearest principles of justice, and to a series of the most incontestible facts.

I can call it hitherto only the dawn, waiting anxiously for the more perfect day. The motion, (discreet enough in itself,) is so worded, that it may contain all that is right and desirable; it may also conceal, within a specious generality, certain narrow notions, that would frustrate national justice and public prosperity. I will, however, hope for the best side of the alternative, and am fully persuaded, my dear Sir, that you and I shall equally share the honest joy, if the desired success crowns the great work; and, indeed, by one and the same act, to do the nation justice, and to fix the ease and pre-emi-

nence of England for ages, are plentiful sources of manly and noble joy.

Allow me then, with the addition of one descriptive epithet, to pray (in your own words) for all the natural consequences of an adequate, amicable, and happy conclusion of this vast subject. I am, with the greatest regard and consideration, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient

humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

Downing Street, January 4, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE this moment received the honour of your letter, and I flatter myself you will forgive me if I trouble you a second time, in consequence of some observations in your letter, which seem to me to call for an answer from me, and of proceedings which have since followed the resolution of the general court.

I cannot help thinking, that the words of the motion were conceived with great prudence, propriety, and judgment; because, in my opinion, they clearly extend to every consideration which one could wish to include in the result of the negotiation. Under the expression of “enlarging their

commerce," will naturally be considered every measure which the directors have to propose for the relief of their trade at home and abroad : under the next words, of "securing their possessions" (your Lordship will observe that it is possessions, not rights), will be introduced whatever they want, in recruiting their military, governing their servants, and establishing the revenue itself : and under the last general phrase of "perpetuating the prosperity of the Company," may be classed a variety of other points not yet started ; all which, amicably given, will be so many reasons with the general court finally to acquiesce in an issue advantageous to the Company and adequate to the public.

Your Lordship will recollect, that in my letter I had the honour to assure you, that the motion was opened, supported, and carried in this extensive sense. I am now to inform you, that the directors have been with me to communicate the resolution ; and from them I learn, that they receive their power and construe it in this manner, and that they will, without delay, collect every information, in order to prepare themselves for waiting upon your Lordship and the servants of the crown, upon their return to town ; till which time, I told them I could not venture to advance one step. I have also seen other very leading men in the court, who speak of the temper of the day, the meaning of the motion, and the extent of the power given to the directors, as I have done to your Lordship ; and therefore I should hope there

is no ground for doubting which side of the alternative stated by your Lordship, ought to be taken on the construction of the generality of the words ; formed thus general, I am convinced, to secure unanimity in granting the power to treat, without the least secret wish thereby to frustrate national justice and public prosperity.

Your Lordship does me justice in supposing me equally anxious with yourself to see this delicate and important matter brought to an adequate, as well as amicable and happy issue. Perhaps I may have thought, more than others of sounder judgment than mine, that the only way of making the issue adequate was to make it amicable ; which, if it has been an error, it was an honest one, proceeding from a sincere, though it should be thought an extreme, sense of the endless difficulties accompanying every idea of substituting the public in the place of the Company, in the collecting, investing, and remitting the revenue ; and from a fear, that the knowledge of this impracticability might embolden a body of heated proprietors to stand the issue of such a measure, rather than submit to what they might deem severity in the manner, or in the plan.

I am to beg your Lordship's pardon for this interruption. Truly anxious to leave no doubt upon your mind, which I feel myself authorised to remove by the representation of any circumstances within my knowledge, I could not resist the pleasure of assuring you more fully of the actual

result of the last general court, and the declaration of the directors themselves.

I am, my Lord, with the greatest solicitude for your Lordship's health, and the success of whatever interests you in the accomplishment of your great plans for the prosperity and honour of these kingdoms, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

most faithful servant,

C. TOWNSHEND.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE RIGHT HON.
CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

Bath, January 6, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I AM honoured this morning by the favour of your letter of the 4th, and am sorry that any observations of my former letter should have occasioned to you the trouble of justifying the motion of the general court, the wording of which I admitted to be prudent enough ; my anxious doubts and well-grounded fears turning upon the final issue of the transaction, not upon the expression of the resolution, which will, in my sense of things, be such, in either alternative, an adequate or an illusory proposal.

It would be an useless intrusion upon your time to repeat here the first principle which rules me in this matter ; namely, that the right is evidently

with the Company ; for I can venture upon no method of defining the idea of adequate, but by assuming or deciding the question of right, and by considering, consequently, whatever portion of the revenue shall be left by parliament to the Company as indulgence and matter of discretion. I will only add upon this head, that my fears do not arise from distrust of the good intentions of the directors, but from the vices and passions of the general court, to whom they are to report. Under these circumstances, I confess I am not sanguine enough to hope for an issue I shall think adequate.

Allow me now, dear Sir, to assure you, that I esteem myself sensibly obliged to you for the honour of the letter I am now answering, and am not a little flattered with the attention you are so good to give to solicitudes, which are very real, and proportioned to the mighty national benefit, which is to be acquired or lost at the end of this momentous business. I feel all the extent of the very favourable and kind expressions with which you conclude your letter, and beg you will accept of my warm acknowledgments. I hope to have the pleasure of embracing you in town about the 14th or 15th.

I am, with great regard and consideration,
dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

most obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Edinburgh, January 3, 1767.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received a letter from General Paoli, in which he thus talks of Mr. Pitt:—"La pubblica fama esalta fino alle stelle i talenti del Signor Pitt; ma la relazione che ella mi fa della conversazione avuta con esso lui, mi riempie ancora di maggior ammirazione e di attaccamento per la bontà del cuore di questo Pericle della Gran Bretagna."

My Lord, I wrote to General Paoli the many strong and noble expressions which you uttered in a private conference to me, with as much eloquence as ever Mr. Pitt displayed in the fullest assembly; and, my Lord, I trust you will now show a generous sincerity. I would recommend to your Lordship Mr. Dick, his Majesty's consul at Leghorn, as a gentleman of great information and judgment, as to every thing that concerns the Mediterranean; and I would recommend him as a man of worth and spirit, who is warmly attached to the brave Corsicans. He will give your Lordship all the light you can desire, as to the advantages which Great Britain might derive from an alliance with Corsica, either in the way of trade or for the conveniency of war, and will faithfully execute whatever commands your Lordship may lay upon him.

Your Lordship knows that a proclamation stands

in force, by which the subjects of Great Britain are prohibited from holding any intercourse with the malecontents of Corsica. If your Lordship would only get us that proclamation annulled, it would be of great consequence. In the mean time, Corsica seems to be particularly unlucky. The Swiss and the Dutch had powerful assistance in recovering their liberties; but the gallant islanders for whom I am concerned have now been in arms for the glorious cause nine and thirty years, and not a state in Europe has interposed in their behalf.

Let me plead with your Lordship for Corsica. Let me put you in mind of the people animated with the spirit of liberty, whom the Romans stood forth and protected against the great King of Asia, and in so doing gained more real honour than by the most extensive conquests; and let me recall to your Lordship the excellent old fable of the lion and the mouse. Far be it from me to attempt pointing out any measures to be taken by the government of my country; but surely a great free nation may befriend a small one. Is Great Britain now afraid of France; or does she owe any thing to Genoa? As an advocate for Corsica, I look up to the Earl of Chatham, and I cannot but hope for a favourable return. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In a letter written a few days before to Mr. Boswell, Dr. Johnson gives him this sensible advice: — “You have somehow or other warmed your imagination. I wish there were some cure, like the lover’s leap, for all heads of which some single idea has obtained an unreasonable and irregular possession. Mind your

I have the honour to remain, with the highest consideration,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

THOMAS WROUGHTON ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Warsaw, January 5, 1767.

MY LORD,

THE inclosed letter will I hope plead my excuse, for daring to interrupt one moment your Lordship's

own affairs, and leave the Corsicans to theirs: " and, in a subsequent one, he says, — " I wish you would empty your head of Corsica, which I think has filled it rather too long." The recommendation was unavailing: " How," exclaimed the worthy biographer in reply, " how can you bid me empty my head of Corsica? Empty it of honour; empty it of humanity; empty it of friendship; empty it of piety! No! while I live, Corsica shall ever employ much of my attention." — *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 4. 49. edit. 1835.

(¹) Mr. Wroughton was at this time British resident at the court of Stanislaus Augustus, the unfortunate King of Poland. In 1778, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Stockholm, and in 1780, made a knight of the bath. He died in 1787. In early life, Sir Thomas resided as British consul at St. Petersburg. The lively interest taken by the Empress Catherine in the welfare of this gentleman will appear by the following letter, from

THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA TO MR. PITT.

" A St. Petersbourg, ce 3 d'Août, 1759.

" MONSIEUR,

" JE suis bien aise d'avoir une occasion de vous témoigner, Monsieur, la part que je prend à tout ce qui regarde votre nation,

important occupations. I received it two days ago from Prince Jablonoffsky (¹), palatine of Novogorod, as your Lordship will see by the short letter that accompanied it. I cannot help mentioning a circumstance that may not, perhaps, be disagreeable to your Lordship; which is, that I was actually talking with the King of Poland when the messenger delivered me the packet, and upon my informing his Majesty of the contents, he said, “Si je ne regardois pas les secrets pour la goutte comme

et l'inclination que j'ai de procurer ses avantages, surtout en Russie, le pays le plus naturellement intéressé à la prospérité du votre.

“Ayant reconnu la probité et le zèle du Sieur Wroughton, qui vous remettra cette lettre, Monsieur, pour sa patrie; je vous prie de lui obtenir du Roi la survivance de la charge de consul-général, et je vous le recommande très particulièrement. Monsieur, vous m'obligerez par là assurément, mais vous n'ajouterez rien à la considération distinguée avec laquelle je suis,

Monsieur, de votre Excellence,

la très affectionnée,

CATERINE.”

(¹) Prince Jablonoffski was born in 1712. In early life he devoted himself chiefly to the sciences, and, for the sake of improvement, made several tours through France and Germany. When the troubles broke out in Poland he resigned his senatorial dignity, left the country, and took up his residence at Leipsig; where he founded a society for the purpose of distributing premiums to the authors of the best answers to questions proposed on various literary subjects. The society still exists. He died in 1777. His principal writings are his *Lives of the Twelve great Generals of Poland*, and a treatise on Slavonic poetry. The prince's letter to Lord Chatham, containing his recipe for the cure of the gout, has unfortunately not been preserved.

les secrets de faire de l'or, je porterois bien envie au Prince, d'en avoir fourni un remède à un ministre qui fait tant d'honneur au genre humain."

I confess I am not sorry to have this occasion of wishing your Lordship more success from this communication of the Prince than his Polish Majesty apprehends, as well as every other blessing that a great and good man can enjoy; assuring your Lordship of the profound respect, attachment, and veneration, with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

THOMAS WROUGHTON.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, January 8, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE inclosed is a copy of a paper delivered into my hands this morning by the chairman and deputy of the East India Company ⁽¹⁾, who desired to

(1) "East India House, January 6, 1767.

"At a Committee of Treasury.

"The committee met to consider of the resolution of the general court of proprietors of the 31st of December last, and the reference of the court of directors thereupon on the 2d instant, and what steps it will be proper to take in consequence thereof, which said resolution and reference are in the following words, viz. : —

come to me. You will perceive that the heads contained under it are what their committee of

“ ‘ At a General Court, 31st December, 1766.

“ ‘ Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that it be recommended to the court of directors to treat with the administration upon such points relative to the general state of the affairs of the Company as shall seem to them most requisite and conducive to the extending our commerce, securing our possessions, and perpetuating the prosperity of the Company, and to report their proceedings to this court.”

“ ‘ At a Court of Directors, 2d January, 1767.

“ ‘ Ordered, that it be referred to the committee of treasury to give directions for preparing the necessary papers, also to consider of the applications proper to be made to the administration in pursuance of the resolution of the general court of the 31st ultimo, and to report their proceedings thereupon from time to time to this court.’ ”

“ The committee, upon considering the said resolution of the general court, and the consequent reference of the court of directors, are of opinion it is requisite and necessary to treat with the administration on the following points, viz.: —

“ For a prolongation of the Company’s charter, from the year 1780 to the year 1800, or a further term; but to have the whole, sole, and exclusive trade to the East Indies for three years after the said year 1800, in like manner as was provided in the act of the 17th of George the Second.

“ For an alteration in the inland duty on tea, with a view to prevent smuggling, and thereby to increase the legal consumption.

“ For allowing a drawback on the exportation of tea of the whole custom paid thereon, being about 24*l.* per cent. upon the gross value at the Company’s sales, or at least 20*l.* per cent. thereof.

“ For an alteration in the duties on calicoes and muslins.

“ For some method of recruiting the Company’s military forces at their settlements in the East Indies, by draughting them off for that purpose whenever they shall be wanted.

“ For strengthening the hands of the Company, if necessary, for the better and more effectual government of their civil and

treasury have judged to be the benefits they may hope to receive from parliament. This communication, they told me, meant nothing farther than a show of that respect which my absence from town had prevented them from giving till now. They added, that their present business was only to acquaint me with the steps taken by the general court, and to offer for my full consideration those objects which they thought the Company most interested to obtain. As they expected no answer from me on these heads, I had only to express to them the satisfaction it gave me to hear them declare, that the advantage to the public in this

military servants or others abroad, and for preventing their accepting or receiving presents.

“For preventing the commanders of the Company’s ships and others from carrying to the East Indies all kinds of warlike stores clandestinely, or without the license of the Company.

“For desiring the strong interposition of administration with the court of France, for payment to the Company of the great sums of money they have expended for the maintenance, transport of French prisoners to Europe, and other expenses incurred on those accounts, which, by an account delivered to the right honourable Mr. Secretary Conway, dated the 16th November, 1765, amounted at that time to the sum of 260,687*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*

“Also for their interposition with the court of Spain, with respect to the Manilla ransom, that the Company may be reimbursed the great expenses incurred by that expedition; for which it appears, by a letter from Lord Egremont to the secret committee, dated the 23d January, 1762, the Company is to have a reasonable compensation; which said expenses amounted to, on the 7th August last, the sum of 166,236*l.* 15*s.* as per an account that day delivered to the right honourable the Earl of Shelburne.”

great affair weighed with them higher than the interested views of the *passenger proprietor*; a consideration from which (as I flattered myself) no menace would make them depart, especially as they who knew the Company's affairs the best must also know how great the expectations must be which the King's servants have formed for the public. I have every reason to desire, whenever the negotiation is to be opened, that it may be in your Lordship's presence: it is of the utmost consequence it should; I mean even in the first overtures. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, with the truest esteem and respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful and

most obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, January 8, 1767.

MY LORD,

I THINK myself very much indebted to your Lordship for the honour of your very obliging letter, and the early communication your Lordship was pleased to make to me of Mr. Flood's sentiments, in relation to the measures of government. ⁽¹⁾ I

⁽¹⁾ "Hamilton has this instant been here: 'I have just now been told,' says he, 'that Augustus Harvey has said that Lord

had conversed enough with him to be perfectly apprized of his inclination to promote the King's service, and had no other motive for being reserved with him upon the particular plan, but out of deference to your Lordship, who had determined to see him, and therefore I chose, whenever an opportunity offered, only to second what you, my Lord, were to mention in the first instance, that I might convince Mr. Flood I would never take any lead, but only meant to pursue your ideas. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, faithful,
and most devoted humble servant,

BRISTOL.

Bristol has had a letter from Lord Chatham, with an account of an interview with him and Mr. Flood, in which the latter had in the handsomest manner declared that he would support Lord Bristol's government; in consequence of which he was to be the first man provided for.' My answer was, that in the manner the story was told, I did not give credit to it; that I thought it very likely that Flood might have seen Lord Chatham; that he might, in the course of conversation, have said that his influence in the administration made him hope for such measures as a man of principle might support, and that upon this probability the report was founded: but that I knew my friend too well to believe that he had made any declaration without conditions and proper reservation: that I wished, for the sake of my country, that it might be true that he had so declared himself, as I was very sure that if he had done so, it must have been upon such conditions as would be highly advantageous to the public, the interest of which I was thoroughly convinced he would always prefer to his own. I think we have a great deal to hope, and nothing to fear: by-the-by, I do not think it amiss that it should be supposed here that we both intend to come into parliament." — *Lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood, Jan. 13.*

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, January 21, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I WILL not attempt to express to your Lordship the real concern I felt on receiving the note from you, that brought the news of your being confined at the Bath with a severe fit of the gout. Indeed, my Lord, the distress it brings on all concerned in the affairs of the public is the greatest ; and nothing but your absence can again give hopes to desponding factions, that an opening is made for any possibility of their success. How the great business of all will be affected by it I will not be the oracle of dismal conjectures ; but it grieves me also on that head, that when the world was daily more impressed with the conviction of the *no-right* of the Company, your hand should be wanted just to conclude the whole ; which I am confident will come in their *intended* proposal, dwindled from what it would have been if you had been in London. I have not the smallest idea of the substance of such proposal, having had but once any sort of communication with any of those gentry since I last wrote to your Lordship. That one instance was in a visit from Mr. Rous ; who, with very strong professions of meaning largely for the nation, I could still perceive was too much in dread of the general court for me to expect much from that mode of terminating the affair. Without any advice to him, I told him frankly that a

proposal from the directors, under what was and must be, the expectations of the King's servants, and which were the greatest, could only be received by them as a delusion, an offer for the sake of saying that *one* was made ; and I left him to think what the landowners of this country, charged with a four shilling land tax, would urge their constituents to pursue, when they saw it decided, which every man in his senses must see would be the case, that the Company was enjoying that which was the property of the state, and that was sufficient to redeem them from the whole of that burdensome charge. If it was to be settled with this gentleman alone, I should have but little doubts of its success ; but when I consider the others who must join in it, and some even in their treasury committee itself, I confess that I cannot be sanguine from that quarter.

The enclosed copy of a note will show your Lordship that I have obeyed your commands in regard to his Majesty ; and I flatter myself as you meant I should.

Your Lordship must have observed a *peevish* cast in some of our late councils ; the bad effects of which your presence can only prevent. Little as I wish to engage you to take one disagreeable step, yet must I profess that it is my opinion that without you we shall see great confusion arise here. ⁽¹⁾ What I can do in the mean time I will

⁽¹⁾ "I have no news to send you," writes Lord Chesterfield to his son, on the 13th of February ; "for every thing seems

heartily exert, provided I have your advice to proceed upon. Give me leave to conclude by assuring you, that no one is with truer zeal and respect than myself, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient and

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

[Enclosure.]

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Queen's House, January 17, 1767.

DUKE OF GRAFTON,

I AM greatly mortified that Lord Chatham is prevented by a severe fit of the gout from coming to town at a time when his assistance would have been of so much consequence. I desire you will let him know how sincerely I feel also for what his mind, as well as body, suffers at this time. I am too thoroughly convinced that you agree with me in the caution that must be used, that the East India affair be not whittled to a mere nothing, that I need not, on this untoward event, recommend any additional circumspection to you.

GEORGE R.

suspended, both in the court and in the parliament, till Lord Chatham's return from the Bath, where he has been laid up this month, by a severe fit of the gout; but, at present, he has the sole apparent power. In what little business has hitherto been done in the House of Commons, Charles Townshend has given himself more ministerial airs than Lord Chatham will, I believe, approve of."

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, January 24, 1767.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the sincere satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that the King, who appeared yesterday at the levee, is much better. His Majesty did me the honour to inquire very particularly of me concerning your Lordship, and I only waited for that favourable opportunity of showing his Majesty the letter I had received, written by Lady Chatham, where your Lordship had expressed yourself in such a manner with regard to our amiable royal master as could not but be acceptable to the King to see how you thought of his Majesty when you wrote about him to your friend.

The King kept me a long time and talked very much about your Lordship, and in such a manner as I ardently wish you could have heard each syllable of the conversation, and concluded the whole by honouring me with his royal commands to tell your Lordship, that he heard with concern the severe attack you had of the gout, which was so circumstantially confirmed to me, that his Majesty recommended to your Lordship to think of nothing at present but your own health, and not to disquiet yourself about your confinement at that distance; that the King wishes you to drive away from your mind all solicitude but about your

recovery; for his Majesty kindly expressed his apprehensions lest you should retard your re-establishment by too great an anxiety at not being able to attend here in town. These were, as nearly as I can recollect, the royal words; at least this was the principal tenor of the message I was honoured with. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and most obedient humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY TO
THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, January 24, 1767.

MY LORD,

HAVING received the inclosed from Mr. Stanley, with his desire I should transmit it to your Lordship, I take this opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship the state of the matter, as it stands at present, relative to his embassy. Your Lordship will remember that, in a discussion relative to Mr. Stanley's going, at a meeting of his Majesty's servants before your Lordship's journey to Bath, I thought it would be expedient to settle it as soon as possible. I have told your Lordship that Mr. de Mouskin Pouskin⁽¹⁾ has pressed me in regard to Mr. Stanley's departure; I found also that his

⁽¹⁾ The Russian ambassador extraordinary at the court of London.

court had given him instructions on the subject, and at the same time that they expected, in case Mr. Stanley did not go, that some other person would be appointed with the same character in his room, and a little hint was given, that the Empress would, as he imagined, be rather better pleased that some *new* person with new *instructions*, as he expressed it, from hence was sent, than that Sir George Macartney should be vested with that character. I just threw out, in the course of the conversation, a slight mention of the circumstance of the Empress's former supposed declaration against having *ambassadors* at her court; which he took up immediately, and said, "he had explained himself to that effect at the time of Mr. Stanley's appointment, but that now this appointment had been made, he concluded it would be continued, either in Mr. Stanley or some other named in his place": to which I only answered in general terms of his Majesty's constant disposition to show every mark of respect and attention to the Empress, and of his desire to promote that strict union between the two courts, which I was sorry had been so long obstructed by the uniform and constant declaration of his court and its ministers, relative to the Turkish clause; to which he answered, "that he could not deny that, though of late he thought our negotiation was at a stand in expectation of Mr. Stanley's arrival, and that he flattered himself when he went, the general discussion of the affairs of the north, upon a large and general plan, might yet pro-

duce some means of getting over that difficulty.”⁽¹⁾ I should also mention, that I find M. de Saldern has talked the same language, and once said, “he thought the Empress was now, by this English embassy, reconciled to the idea of receiving ambassadors, and that it would introduce the fashion of seeing them there from other courts.”

I mention all these circumstances for your Lordship’s information, and on the whole cannot help adding that, after all which has passed, I am much inclined to think that, as Mr. Stanley does, agreeably indeed to his original professions on the subject, now make it his humble request to his Majesty that he may be excused the fear of giving offence to a court so constituted as that of Petersburg, and at the same time, as it appears to me, so essential to the interests of this country on the continent, in the present situation of Europe, should determine his Majesty to name some other person as ambassador to the court of Russia in his room. ⁽²⁾

(¹) On the subject of this clause, Sir George Macartney wrote thus to Mr. Conway: — “I do most sincerely agree with you in your opinion of the absurdity of Russia’s inflexibility, and have done all in my power to engage her to agree with us both; but I might as well dream of governing human society by the laws of Plato’s republic, as of working upon this ministry either by the common rules of negotiation, or the principles of our ancient engagements: and, at this moment, I should think a treaty of alliance with the Empress of Russia, during M. Panin’s ministry, as distant and as unlikely to be brought about, as a league with Prester John, or the King of Bantam. I mean, as long as no method can be hit upon for removing the fatal, the only difficulty that remains between us.”

(²) As there was not the slightest hope of negotiating a treaty

I will not detain your Lordship on any other subject, but shall only just mention, that in regard to the grand East India business, Mr. Townshend, from his late conversations with the directors, is very sanguine. They are preparing immediately to come to administration, with even very advantageous proposals; and, on the other hand, I cannot help thinking that the public cause has acquired considerable strength by a declaration of Mr. Grenville's in the House yesterday, that "from the moment the East India Company became petitioners to government for a renewal of their charter, or any other advantages, they then made themselves parties, and he thought the *right* to the possessions ought then to be determined, previous even to the settling any bargain;" though he added, that it ought to have its determination in a court of law, and not in parliament. I mention the bare fact without any comment, not to add to your Lordship's trouble, and am, my Lord, with all possible respect,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

of alliance without admitting the Turkish clause, and as the ministry were convinced that Sir George Macartney's remaining at St. Petersburg, while an ambassador was expected, could answer no good purpose, he was permitted to return to England for the benefit of his health. Shortly after his arrival in London Mr. Stanley gave in his resignation, and Sir George was immediately appointed to succeed him, as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Soho Square, January 27, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM exceedingly concerned at your present indisposition, for your own and for the sake of the public. Your presence and advice was never more wanting than at this critical juncture. Possibly you have not heard with precision what has passed in the House, relative to East India affairs. When the papers called for were delivered by the secretary of the India Company, as they were voluminous and every gentleman could not have an opportunity of perusing them, I moved for their being printed. Charles Townshend desired I would defer that motion for a few days, as he hoped to settle all matters with the East India Company to the satisfaction of the public, and, consequently, there might be no occasion for exposing these papers; to which I replied, I was willing, for a few days, to defer my opinion to his judgment, and withdrew the motion: this was on Tuesday last. On Thursday, the day appointed for taking the papers into consideration, many accounts were moved for by Mr. O'Bourke⁽¹⁾, and other papers called for by me, to render his account more clear, consistent, and merchant-like, which

(1) Mr. Edmund Burke. His name was at this time frequently so spelt.

were granted. Mr. Charles Townshend talked a great deal on the occasion, in answer to what Mr. George Grenville had thrown out; namely, that he thought the East India Company had a right to their territorial revenues, but at the same time declared, he had no idea of their private bargains; that parliament was the proper judge, and that it was the duty of every member to make as good a bargain as possible for the public. Charles seemed to put the whole stress of the negotiation on the *quantum* to be given by the Company, for the prolongation of the term of their charter, and regulations and concessions to be made by the legislature, which would amazingly increase the trade and profit of the Company: in short, he uttered so many kind and comfortable words for their consolation, that the stock rose the next and the succeeding day six per centum.

Mr. Conway was not so decisive as I could have wished; although he has a good head, and honest heart. He declared the salvation of this country depended on a proper determination of this affair; that it was a subject of a nice and delicate nature; and that he was unwilling to have the right determined by a vote of parliament. He threw out, that any man who should oppose this plan would be an enemy to this country; which drew on an altercation between him and Mr. O'Bourke.

By perusing the several papers on the table, it will appear, that all the revenues, a few ancient districts only excepted, in Bengal and the coast of

Coromandel, are clearly acquired by conquest ; the treaties declaring, that such grants were to be made for assistance given. I have many things to say on this subject, when I shall have the happiness of seeing you. The demolition of Pondicherry, without an order from the King, was a daring attack on the prerogative, and calculated to put a large sum of money into the hands of the Company and their servants. Friday se'nnight is the day appointed for taking this matter into consideration : let me entreat for your thoughts, and directions what steps to take and what motion to make. We had a great debate yesterday on the army. George Grenville proposed saddling America with 400,000*l.* per annum, for the support of the troops, quoted acts of parliament and journals, but was so miserably mistaken in law and policy, that he was little attended to. He was indeed very spiritry in his abuse of your Lordship and your friend W. B. However, I believe he got nothing by the contest : if possible, he was more fell and rancorous than usual.⁽¹⁾ Adieu.

Your Lordship's ever faithful

and affectionate humble servant,

W. BECKFORD.

⁽¹⁾ "A few days since," writes Lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood, on the 29th, "a motion was made by George Grenville, that America should, like Ireland, support an establishment of its own. In the course of the debate, Charles Townshend, who was attacked upon the usual topic of inconsistency, endeavoured, according to his laudable custom, to get himself out of the present scrape, and to defend himself against his *present* antagonists,

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, January 29, 1767.

MY LORD,

I ALWAYS receive the honour of your Lordship's letters with great pleasure ; but it would be difficult for me to write with what satisfaction I saw your Lordship's handwriting upon that of the 26th instant, which reached me last night. I went into the closet this morning ; and when I told his Majesty I had heard from your Lordship and presented your letter to him, the King, with an eagerness that could proceed only from a gracious impatience to be particularly informed of your health, took the letter, and when he looked upon it, hastily said, " It is all with his own hand, and very steadily written : I am truly pleased he is so much better." When the King read that part which expressed so feelingly and so delicately the royal goodness that inspired his servants with redoubled ardour, I could perceive the impression it made ; for I watched his countenance, and I was again commanded to assure your Lordship of the pleasure the King had in the prospect of your speedy

without the least regard to his connections. He declared himself still a firm advocate for the stamp act ; laughed most unmercifully at the idea, absurd as he termed it, of any difference between internal and external taxation ; and even descended to the common-place topics of peerages, pensions, and reversions. Is not this amazing ? No ! not from him : the division, however, was of thirty-three only."

recovery, and to desire you would not be too impatient, lest your over-anxiety should either retard your cure, or make you accelerate your journey before you were able to go through it.

As your Lordship has so friendlily and so conspicuously distinguished our family, I must acquaint you with the death of the Bishop of Cloyne⁽¹⁾; and as I had before obtained your consent for naming my brother, Mr. Frederick Hervey, to the King for the first vacancy upon the bench, I carried the lords justices' formal notification of this event to his Majesty; and before the King had got through the letter, consequently before I could move his Majesty in favour of my brother, the King, in the most agreeable, engaging, and gracious manner, said, "Remember, you are engaged to me for the first bishopric: I desire my recommendation may take place, and that your brother should be the new bishop;" and upon my saying, that his Majesty enhanced my obligation by his gracious manner of conferring this great favour, he kindly added, "I am as well pleased as yourself with his being a bishop." I find it is impossible not to be penetrated with such a disposition and such a manner. I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
most affectionately devoted, and
most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

(¹) The right rev. Dr. Robert Johnson.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Bath, January 31, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

THOUGH I have not yet any very good account to give of my condition, I flatter myself your Lordship will not be sorry to see, under my hand, that my pains are abated, and that I begin to be lifted into a coach for a little motion and air. I trust that the waters will give me strength enough in about ten days to perform the journey to town ; where I hope to be by the 12th or 13th of next month. My absence from London, in the present crisis, is afflicting to me beyond expression ; but lamentations are vain, and it is best to look forward.

To say a word, then, upon the transcendent object which possesses my mind, the East India business, I hear that Mr. Townshend has declared in the House, that a proposal from the Company was upon the point of being made. After this declaration, and during the pendency of a transaction with the Company, so avowed, I am clearly of opinion, that a question for deciding the right would not be duly supported : it is therefore become necessary to delay going into the consideration in the committee till the proposal is made ; after that, and when the proposal is before the House, the whole matter will be under the con-

templation, and ripe for the decision, of parliament. If the proposal shall be, as I expect, very inadequate, strength will be gained thereby for bringing on the question of right. I have advised Mr. Beckford, by this post, to move to put off the consideration for a fortnight. This delay will give room for the present entangled state of this business to develope itself, and tend to bring it to a clear issue. I live in hopes (and almost live by them) to reach London before that time; where I shall be truly happy to embrace your Lordship, being ever, with truest respect and attachment, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithful affectionate

humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, February 1, 1767.
4 o'clock, p. m.

MY LORD,

As the Duke of Grafton told me he had written to your Lordship about the chief points depending, I have forborne troubling you upon the same subjects. It is the situation of things in America which makes it necessary now. I shall, however, first say a few words about the East India Company, as the matter of the greatest import.

Soon after I came to town, the chairman and deputy-chairman came to me, to speak about their accounts with the French for prisoners, which are hitherto unpaid. They took occasion, at the same time, to enter into their general situation. They declared they did not think themselves authorised in consequence of it by the general court to do more than to desire of administration certain powers, which are wanted for the better regulation of the Company's affairs in India, and to hear what government may expect for them and for a new charter. Further they did not think themselves authorised to go, without fresh powers; and in their private opinions they did not see how that could be, till some authentic determination was come to, to decide the right; upon which it was well known there were different opinions, not only in the city but in parliament. This was their language to me; to which I returned a very general answer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether that they had more confidence in him, or that from a more intimate communication with them he was able to inspire them with his sentiments, has been uniform in believing they would come to government, and with such a proposal as would be approved by parliament. He has gone so far as to declare it as his opinion to the House; upon which, the printing of the papers was stopped, and the stock rose. In the mean time, the directors have said nothing, nor taken any step worth mentioning, and the matter

stands there. Mr. Beckford is at a loss how to prosecute the inquiry in this situation, when the committee meets on Friday. Mr. Sullivan gave me a paper on my coming to town, which he wished me to communicate to your Lordship. He then thought, if such a composition was desired, he could bring the proprietors to propose it to government, without other assistance than the grounds of the proposal. He seems to think the same still, but is not so sanguine; which I am not surprised at, considering the light it stands in to the public at the moment. I take it for granted your Lordship will choose to explain yourself to the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of whatever may occur to you upon it; but it was impossible to write without mentioning the greatest point a nation ever had depending; and that is all I mean.

In regard to America, the enclosed minute from the House of Commons will show your Lordship Mr. Grenville's question. Mr. Townshend answered him, but agreed as to the principle of the stamp act and the duty itself, only the heats which prevailed made it an improper time to press it, and in treating the distinction between external and internal taxes as ridiculous in every body's opinion except the Americans; and, in short, *pledged himself* to the House to find a revenue⁽¹⁾, if not *adequate*, (a word Lord George Sackville pressed him with, with a view to pin him down as much as possible,) yet nearly sufficient to answer the

(1) See p. 178.

expense, when properly reduced. What he means, I do not conceive. I have always thought the quit rents may be so managed, without having too great a retrospect, as to produce a certain sum ; and I have likewise had reason to think that such a new method of granting lands might be devised, under the direction of my Lord President, as might give infinite satisfaction to America, contribute to the ascertaining property, preventing future suits at law, and in great measure prevent the Indian disturbances, and besides all, *incidentally* produce a certain revenue, without its being the object ; but I do not conceive either of them can possibly take place this year, there not being materials in any office here sufficient to form a final judgment of them. Many of them must come for that purpose from America.

I have heard, indeed, from general conversation, that Mr. Townshend has a plan for establishing a board of customs in America, and by a new regulation of the tea duty here, and some other alterations, to produce a revenue on imports there. I am myself in no respect able or sufficiently informed to form a judgment how far this may be likely to answer the end or no ; but in many views it appears a matter that will require the deepest consideration, at this time especially. Besides, I believe your Lordship will think the speech I have just mentioned to you is not the way to make any thing go down well in North America.

I thought it necessary to inform your Lordship

thus far of the state of American affairs here, before I came to speak of the actual state of them there. They have universally agreed to the compensation required by parliament to be made to the sufferers. My letter upon that subject in Massachusetts Bay has undergone a very free discussion; but they have fully agreed, and the assembly have written me a letter, which I enclose to your Lordship. The governor writes short, but inveighing, in general terms, against the people.

A petition is at the same time come from New York signed by two hundred and forty persons to the House of Commons, and sent to the board of trade to present; who have transmitted it to me, to know the King's pleasure upon it. I likewise find that when the last ships came away the assembly had my letter under consideration; which your Lordship may remember was written after a council upon Sir Henry Moore's and General Gage's accounts of the difficulty made by the assembly to provide the troops with vinegar and other articles, which Sir Jeffrey Amherst's letters assure him they will not comply with, lest they should admit what might hereafter be deemed a precedent for a tax act.

I have only told the merchants, in general, that it was well known some of those who opposed the stamp act opposed it upon very extensive principles, with regard to American trade, upon a supposition that the advantages of it must finally centre with the mother-country; that these objects could never

be considered separate: to consider them together required not only great judgment and great power, but temper too, leaving it to them to judge how very imprudent the present moment was chosen, when, on the one hand, they saw how far the prejudices about the stamp act still prevailed, and on the other, an assembly imprudent enough to hesitate about obeying an act of parliament in its full extent, after the tenderness which had been shown America; not to mention their manner of sending it over. The merchants and the Americans here seem sensible of its being the height of imprudence, and are sorry; but your Lordship may easily conceive it has occasioned a number of reports, and is likely, in the talk of the town, to undergo the imputation of rebellion, and will probably be mentioned as such by Mr. Grenville in the House of Commons without seeing it.

I am ashamed to submit to your Lordship for your judgment so many difficulties, and should be very sorry, if I was not sure, let the gout but go, that it will dispel them all. I do not mention it as my own opinion only, but, by all I hear, it is that of the public. Your Lordship may conceive that if there are difficulties about great points, there are some about others. However, the navy is happily agreed to, as Sir Edward Hawke wishes; and for the rest, it is better, perhaps, Mr. Townshend should accuse the cabinet of extravagance, the great points being secured, than run a risk of any division in its present very weak state.

I have little to trouble your Lordship with, in relation to foreign affairs. As nothing presses in regard to them, I forbear troubling you with the papers till something does, or till I have the honour to see you in town. Both France and Spain stand still for the present by mutual agreement ; but the reason for it does not appear by any of our intelligence.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most faithful and obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

(*Private.*)

Bath, February 3, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE kept the messenger till this evening, in order to consider more fully the weighty matters which your very obliging letter contains, and for which I beg to return your Lordship my best thanks.

America affords a gloomy prospect. A spirit of infatuation has taken possession of New York : their disobedience to the mutiny act will *justly* create a great ferment here, open a fair field to the arraigners of America, and leave no room to any to say a word in their defence. I foresee confusion will ensue. The petition of the merchants of New York is highly improper : in point of time, most absurd ;

in the extent of their pretensions, most excessive ; and in the reasoning, most grossly fallacious and offensive. What demon of discord blows the coals in that devoted province I know not ; but they are doing the work of their worst enemies themselves. The torrent of indignation in parliament will, I apprehend, become irresistible, and they will draw upon their heads national resentment by their ingratitude, and ruin, I fear upon the whole state, by the consequences. But I will not run before the event, as it is possible your Lordship may receive an account more favourable.

I shift the unpleasing scene from the west to the east ; which, though not so bad, is not over flattering. My letter by the post will have apprised your Lordship of my thoughts concerning the *present period* of East India inquiry. I remain fully persuaded that Mr. Townshend's declaration in the House, with regard to an expected proposal, must necessarily suspend all operations for a competent time, till the proposal shall be produced or be formally disavowed. In the mean time, it is not to be permitted to suppose such levity and indiscretion in man, as to doubt of the grounds of such a declaration. A proposal, therefore, I take for granted, will come ; and when it shall be before the House, the ways to ulterior and final proceedings upon this transcendent object, will open themselves naturally and obviously enough, and acquire double force and propriety.

I am much obliged to your Lordship for the paper of Mr. Sullivan. It contains, as whatever

comes from that gentleman always does, very considerable lights. I wish, however, to decline totally venturing beyond my depth in point of knowledge, and far beyond my purpose in point of detail and specification of particular projects of treaty. I will only say, I think the project very *liberal* to the Company and to the proprietors, and also take notice that there is no restriction upon the application and use of the portion of revenue supposed to be indulged to the Company ; an omission of the utmost consequence and danger.

As I rather gain ground, I do not despair of having the pleasure of embracing your Lordship about the 14th, and exchanging more at large our thoughts upon the most entangled and clouded situation of business in which a great state ever saw itself. Whether these clouds will pass away or not is to me very problematical. The appearances are not favourable : one thing is still always clear ; that in pursuing steadily one's duty one cannot lose one's way. Your Lordship's attention, with regard to the secretary of embassy to Spain, is most obliging, and I cannot enough express my thanks for your goodness. When I come to town, I hope you will give me leave to speak to you about it. I am, with truest respect and attachment, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and faithful servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Friday night, past 11.
[February 6, 1767.]

MY LORD,

SINCE I had the honour of your Lordship's letter by Lambe, the inclosed advices have been received from America. The merchants here unanimously disavow the New York petition, and say that a Mr. Kelly has been the demon who has kindled this fire, and who is the sole author of it. Their letters, however, confirm Sir Henry Moore's account of the disposition of the people in regard to the mutiny act, and explain it to be owing to their jealousy of being some time or other taxed internally by the parliament of Great Britain. The same reasoning has prevailed, your Lordship sees, in New Jersey : in Massachusetts Bay there has been no question as to troops, but they have sent over a bill, in which they have joined the indemnification of the sufferers to the general indemnity in consequence of the riots ; a circumstance Mr. Grenville thinks requires the notice of the House of Commons ; where it is said he means to take it up personally against Mr. Conway, on account of an expression in his letter of "forget and forgive." The act asserting the right of parliament has certainly spread a most unfortunate jealousy and diffidence of government here throughout America, and makes them jealous of the least distinction

between this country and that, lest the same principle may be extended to taxing them. The mutiny act was likewise framed in a hurry, at the end of a session, first framed by Colonel Robertson the quarter-master-general in America, and then accommodated to the minds of the merchants here. It was enacted only for two years, and expires this March. I have therefore written to Lord Barrington to request him to give it, in every respect, the fullest consideration, in order to see him afterwards and know his sentiments as to what regards the war department.

As to that which regards the existence of government, after a great deal of painful consideration on so disagreeable a subject, I have nothing to submit to your Lordship, except what I took the liberty to say to the King this morning; namely, that I hoped both he and parliament would distinguish between *New York* and *America*. But all that I have to say on this head is so much better expressed in a letter from Mr. Delaney⁽¹⁾, the author of the American pamphlet to which your Lordship did so much honour last session, than in any words of my own, that I beg to refer you to that, and enclose it with the other papers, with that view.

We had a council on Wednesday night at the President's; who has brought some decision

(¹) General Oliver Delaney. The pamphlet was entitled, "Considerations on the Propriety of imposing Taxes on the British Colonies."

amongst us, which I hope will hold us till the 14th. The same thing was proposed and approved of there. I took the opportunity of mentioning to the Lords there the New York petition and the difficulty of the lords of trade as to presenting it. No decided opinion was come to, on account of your Lordship's absence; but it seemed the opinion of every lord present, that it deserved no notice except Mr. Grenville moved for it. I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,

Your Lordship's most obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

(*Private.*)

Bath, February 7, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE many acknowledgments to offer you for the trouble your Lordship is so good as to take in keeping me informed of what is passing.

The advices from America afford unpleasing views. New York has drunk the deepest of the baneful cup of infatuation, but none seem to be quite sober and in full possession of reason. It is a literal truth to say that the stamp act, of most unhappy memory, has frightened those irritable and umbrageous people quite out of their senses. I foresee that, determined not to listen to their *real* friends, a little more frenzy and a little more time

will put them into the hands of their enemies. As to the New York petition, I am clearly of opinion that it ought to be laid before the House, and not be smothered in the hands of the King's servants; from the latter of which (were it to happen) much advantage would be taken against government. I am, with truest esteem, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and
affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

My gout still hangs; but I live in hope.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, February 8, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM not without hopes that this letter may meet your Lordship on your journey to London; where, give me leave to say, your appearance was never so much wanted as at this time. There is no interpretation that the ill-wishers of the present system do not endeavour to give to your absence; and I am sorry to say that they succeed so far as to make every one feel the languor under which every branch of the administration labours from it.

My Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, and myself, have within this day or two conversed

a good deal on the consequences it may bring on ; and as much as we are acquainted with your Lordship's zeal in the cause you have so nobly undertaken, yet are we most thoroughly convinced that your presence is absolutely necessary to give dignity to the administration and to carry through this affair (the most important of all) of the East India Company, in which they all think that there is no stirring without your assistance and concurrence ; and on my part I am ready and desirous to declare, that whatever shall appear to you to be the most eligible mode to terminate it, that same shall I most thoroughly join in. Not that I imagine any present difference of opinion on the subject between us, but meaning only to observe, that if there should, I should frankly open to your Lordship my reasons, and then be ready to fall into the measures which your great experience and ability will always call upon me to prefer to all others.

Since the time of my writing last to your Lordship I have had no sort of intercourse with, or intelligence from, any one concerned in the East India direction, until the night before last ; when I received a note from the East India House, that the chairman and deputy would wait on me in the morning. They came accordingly yesterday at ten o'clock, and opened their discourse by telling me that they came authorised by their treasury committee to lay before me the *ideas* on which they thought the revenues, &c., in the East Indies might be terminated with mutual advantage to the

public and the Company; desiring me to communicate them to the principal of his Majesty's servants. Before they opened the contents of the paper (a copy of which I enclose ⁽¹⁾), I observed to them, that it was my duty certainly to receive their *ideas* and to communicate them to the cabinet; which I was glad to express to them, before I was

(¹) "East India House.

"At a Committee of Treasury, the 6th of February, 1767.

"The committee having already offered to the consideration of administration the several articles in which their commerce seems to them to require new regulation and present relief in matters to be submitted to the wisdom of parliament, now beg leave, in hopes of putting an end to all difficulties relative to the acquisitions and possessions in India, to suggest,—

"That the late acquisitions, possessions, and revenues, should be annexed, by act of parliament, to the term to be given in the exclusive trade; that if the said possessions, acquisitions, and revenues, should be judged expedient to be annexed to the exclusive trade by act of parliament, the committee humbly hope that the company's term will be extended fifty years from the present time; that the charges of the company's civil and military establishments be defrayed out of *the revenues*; that a sum be deducted from the next sales at home, in the first instance, sufficient to answer all the company's contingent payments; that a sum also, for profits upon the trade of the company, shall be allowed to the proprietors, and for other purposes, as shall be ascertained and agreed upon hereafter; and that the next remaining surplus be divided between the public and the company, to each a moiety, which is to be paid in such mode or manner as shall be consistent with the interest of both.

"It is also proposed to pay a sum certain of 500,000*l.* in the course of the year, in consideration of the further term requested in the company's exclusive trade, and that they may be empowered, if necessary, to raise a *larger* sum for *that* and other purposes.

"This proposition is made as the basis of a negotiation for settling all matters betwixt the public and the company."

informed of the contents of the paper, that they should not interpret my doing it even to my personal avowal of the admissibility of their proposal. Mr. Dudley then said, that there being somewhat declaratory of their opinion in regard to the right of those acquisitions, he was ordered to say that it was expected that no use would be made of their opinions against themselves, in case their ideas should be totally rejected; as such was the opinion of them as individuals, and on which their constituents had not authorised them to decide. My answer was, that I should not fail mentioning this request of theirs when I opened their scheme to his Majesty's servants; and that I would be frank enough to deliver it as my opinion that a confidential avowal of the way of thinking of individuals ought not to be turned against them; but that I would be answerable for no one but myself, who, if they told me their opinion in confidence, would look upon myself as obliged not to declare that I received it from them. But to this I added that, if called upon in parliament as a servant of the public, I did not see how it could be avoided. To which Mr. Rous observed, that they were directed to say this, but that he saw that, in the case I mentioned, it was unavoidable.

I will not make any remarks on the contents of the paper, though I think there are many objectionable parts: the length of the term and the want of direct application of the Company's money, I think are capital ones. Your Lordship will observe, that

the idea of blending the profits of the revenues, &c. and that arising from their trade, and dividing them with the public, are new; at least they are so to me. Lord Northington, to whom, and to whom alone, I have had an opportunity of communicating the paper as yet, agreed perfectly with me that your Lordship should have a copy of it sent to you, and that I should not lay it before the cabinet till your Lordship comes to town. Though not in direct words, I think I could gather from the directors, that *they might go farther*. I shall think it incumbent on me to lay it to-morrow before the King. That I may soon have the honour of seeing your Lordship, and well recovered, is the sincere wish of him who is, with the most perfect respect,

Your Lordship's most truly devoted,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, February 9, 1767.

MY LORD,

I WAS yesterday in the closet, and showed his Majesty the letter I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship. Great satisfaction was the consequence of seeing that the 14th was the day fixed for your arrival in town. The latter part of the letter was read over twice, with great attention, and then the comment that was made was, — “ Lord Chatham has great firmness, and is not to be diverted

from doing what is right: he has perseverance, and I am persuaded all will go well." The King then condescended to talk to me a great deal about America, and the East India affairs; but as your Lordship will so soon hear the whole from the fountain-head, I will not take up your time at present with relating what passed. I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c.

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

[From the original draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

[February 9, 1767.]

MY LORD,

As to the transcendent object, East India affairs, my last letter to your Grace, as well as two I wrote to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, sufficiently show how very unpromising I think that matter is. Allow me, my dear Lord, to say, that it is not my absence which affects this affair, but an unfortunate original difference of opinion among the King's servants, which at the outset, by enervating the principle of the parliamentary inquiry, totally contrary to my notions, shook the foundation of this great transaction, and has, in my opinion, thrown it into confusion inextricable.

The consideration of the Company's *right* to this enormous revenue is the source from which the whole transaction must flow, and the hinge upon

which must turn the very essence of the question ; namely, whether the Company is to receive, on this head, indulgence and benefit from the public, or whether they are to impart some to the public. This right must be admitted, or tried, before any just rule can be laid down whereby to judge if the proposal to be made be adequate. The aim of the Company seems to be to give the change, and by making an inadmissible proposal, to reduce the King's servants to the necessity of making demands upon the Company, with regard to the revenues in India, instead of receiving from them applications to supply a want of title ; and to indulge them with a princely establishment, civil and military, over and above all the very beneficial extensions, in point of trade, which the commercial policy of their charter and the wisdom of their institution suggest. If this be the project of the negotiation, I know one of the King's servants who will never give into such a snare. In this case, parliament must finally decide, and fix the public lot.

As for the reviving hopes of particular factions, I confess they but little engage my thoughts. My whole mind is bent on acquiring such a resource as must give strength, ease, and lustre to the King's reign. If this fails, it will not be by the force of Factions from without, but from a certain infelicity, I believe incurable, which ferments and nourishes division within the councils of his Majesty's servants. Nothing, I am persuaded, my dear Lord, ever was or will be wanting on your Grace's part, for the

King's service and for the public good ; but, with all this, things, I see, are to continue disjointed. I am, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Soho Square, February 12, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is scarcely possible to conceive the real anxiety of mind I feel at your absence. I should have written an answer to your former letter, had I not flattered myself with the hopes of hearing of your arrival this evening or on the morrow. A report now prevails, that a new access of the gout in your knee will prevent your return to town this week. I most sincerely condole with my country on the occasion, and think it necessary to trouble you with a few lines.

I moved, according to your advice, to postpone the consideration of East Indian affairs for fourteen days, in a very full house, and gave my reasons ; which, to my great surprise, were consented to without a word of contradiction. After the House was up, Mr. Bourke and others declared they fully intended to have brought on a debate. It seems to be the desire of most members to have the papers printed ; but I will not move a step without your approbation.

Charles Townshend talks much of the propo-

sition delivered by the directors, which has been sent to Bath. The proposals I have seen, which I believe are nearly, if not the same sent to your Lordship, are most unreasonable ; may I say, insolent. They must look on those they are treating with as knaves or fools. The moment such a proposal meets with the approbation of parliament, India stock will mount to five hundred, and in a few weeks will be blown up to a greater extent than the South Sea bubble ; to the ruin of public and private credit.

Mr. George Grenville declared yesterday, he was resolved to insist on as good a bargain as possible for the public, when the right was determined. Certainly, the matter of right seems to be the first question to be decided : if the public has no right, there is an end of the inquiry, unless the *misuser* is to be agitated ; which would infallibly upset the Company, for that can be proved beyond contradiction.

What am I to move on Friday se'nnight ? for a motion must be made, either to postpone the consideration, by desiring the matter to be referred to a committee of the whole House, or a committee who are to state and report matters of fact, or else resolve, "that all districts, provinces, and revenues, acquired by the East India Company since the year 1748, the period the troubles in India commenced, do not, of right, belong to the said Company."

The stock of the Company is constantly fluctuating, to the great discouragement of all other

business. It has risen and fallen not less than eight or nine per cent. in twenty-four hours. Men's minds are in a ferment : your presence would make every passion subside. I shall not enjoy a moment's peace of mind till I have the happiness of telling you, *vivâ voce*, that I am, my dear Lord, your ever faithful and affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

P. S. The devil has possessed the minds of the North Americans. George Grenville and his stamp act raised the foul fiend : a prudent firmness will lay him, I hope, for ever. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the subject of American taxation, Mr. Gerard Hamilton, in a letter written at this time to Mr. Calcraft, gives the following opinion:—"As to America, I wish we may not burn our fingers, and do our enemies, work for them, by quarrelling among ourselves. There are, in the different provinces, above a million of people, of which we may suppose at least 200,000 men able to bear arms ; and not only able to bear arms, but having arms in their possession, unrestrained by any iniquitous game act. In the Massachusetts government particularly, there is an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder, and a pound of bullets always by him : so there is nothing wanting but knapsacks (or old stockings, which will do as well) to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Sartorius or a Spartacus at their head requisite to beat your troops and your custom-house officers out of the country, and set your laws at defiance. There is no saying what their leader may put them upon ; but if they are active, clever people, and love mischief as well as I do peace and quiet, they will furnish matter of consideration to the wisest among you, and perhaps dictate their own terms at last, as the Roman people formerly in their famous secession upon the sacred mount. For my own part, I think you have no right to tax them, and that every measure built upon this supposed right stands upon a rotten foundation, and must consequently tumble down, perhaps, upon the heads of the workmen."

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Sunday afternoon,
February 15, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I MUST put into as few words as possible what passed at the cabinet last night, on the consideration of the paper from the directors which I sent to your Lordship some days ago. Every one agreed that it was so general and unintelligible, that no one would venture to pronounce even an opinion on what they protested they did not understand. To all it appeared *extremely* objectionable; to most, *totally* inadmissible; to some, insidious, nay almost impertinent, considering the time they had taken to make up so incoherent a proposition, and which was for the consideration of the King's servants.

On the whole, it was agreed that *explanation* being necessary, even for a dismissal of the proposition, such questions should be put to the directors for their answer, as the dark part of it required. It was doubted whether the questions agreed upon and herein enclosed were such as could allow them to continue a negotiation; but as they were necessary to be asked, in justification of the decision of the King's servants, the consequences were to turn out as they might; for it would have been indeed sufficient, and a good handle for opposition, to have heard the ministers

declare that they had decided on proposals they understood not, without requiring an explanation.

I have written, by the direction of the cabinet, to desire the chairman and deputy to call upon me to-morrow, when I am to deliver a copy of the enclosed ⁽¹⁾ in writing; it being determined, that if they choose to complain of the treaty with them being broken off, they should at the same time be obliged to confess, that they had throughout met with the most regardful reception from administration.

I will only add, that the whole passed last night with a cordiality which *cabinets of late* have not shown, and owing greatly, as I think, to the presence of my Lord President, whose manly conduct and experience have been of the greatest service.

“February 14, 1767.

“(1) “His Majesty’s servants, before whom the proposition of the committee of treasury of the East India House, dated February 6, 1767, has been laid, are of opinion, that the different articles are so general, that they require a more particular state and explanation, before their Lordships can form any judgment thereon, particularly on the following heads: —

“In what sense and extent is the word *annexed* to be understood, as it is used in the paper?

“What is the amount of the civil and military establishments proposed to be defrayed?

“What is the sum to be deducted for contingent payments, and what the nature of those payments?

“What is the sum or proportion proposed to be allowed to the proprietors for profits of trade, and other purposes?

“How are the several matters above mentioned to be ascertained?

“And what is the sum thought necessary to be borrowed, beyond the 500,000*l.* mentioned in the paper, and for what purposes?”

I am of opinion, that the explanation of their sense of the word *annexation* will puzzle the gentlemen so much who hoped to be screened under it, that your Lordship will find this affair going on under a parliamentary inquiry, and the only one in which it can end properly for the advantage of the public. I am very anxious for your Lordship's return ; which I am confident you are not less concerned about yourself. Believe me to be, with the truest esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Monday morning.

[February 16, 1767.]

MY LORD,

THE King's commands, and the importance of whatever determination is taken in regard to America, must excuse me to your Lordship for breaking in upon you, when I know your intention is to be in town, if well enough; if not, that the same reason which detains you may make business altogether inconvenient. In the last case, I hope you will make no scruple to lay aside my letter. It is the general opinion, that the present packet should not go to America without some determination of government, after the imprudent

conduct of New York ⁽¹⁾, as well on account of appearance here as effect there. I have therefore stopped its sailing, in order to submit my own thoughts to your Lordship before I execute the rest of the King's commands, by laying it before the rest of his servants. I wish I could at the same time acquaint you with the opinions of the other ministers ; but though every body is strongly for enforcing, nobody chooses to suggest the mode. I presumed to ask the King whether any occurred to his Majesty, but I could not find that any had, except that it should be enforced. Enclosed I send your Lordship all that I have received from Lord

(1) " During the last session of parliament an alteration was made in the American mutiny act, enjoining the colonists to supply the soldiers with salt, vinegar, and beer or cider. The first attempt to obtain this moderate indulgence was made in New York : the governor applied to the assembly to provide quarters for the troops who were expected, and specified the additional articles required. The assembly were so reluctant in taking this message into consideration, that an address in answer was not voted till the soldiers arrived, and were put to some inconvenience for want of quarters ; and the address was not satisfactory to the governor, because no notice was taken of the demand to supply the military with the necessaries required by the act of parliament. Another message was therefore sent to the assembly, and after several messages and replies, they finally resolved not to comply with the amended mutiny act. They affected to consider the principle as not differing from the stamp law, by its tendency to impose a new burden, and, at length, passed an act which, on their own authority, new-modelled or repealed a regulation made by the parliament of Great Britain. In some other provinces the act was no better received ; and probably the zeal of the military in support of government occasioned this display of resentment in the assemblies."— *Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 260.

Barrington; which contains a general account of the act. It was first suggested by the military, and intended to give a power of billeting on private houses, as was done in the war. It was altered by the merchants and agents, who substituted empty houses, provincial barracks, and barns in their room, undertaking that the assembly should supply them with the additional necessaries: and it passed, I believe, without that superintendence or attentive examination on the part of government, which is so wanting in all cases where necessity requires something different from the general principles of the constitution. I am told it was carried through by Mr. Ellis, without the entire conviction or cordial support of Mr. Grenville, who made it a separate bill, lest it might embarrass the general mutiny act.

The infatuated conduct of the assembly, in refusing even present obedience to the act, precludes, I am afraid, all consideration of the merits or principles of it, by involving a far greater question. I have, however, examined, with all the attention possible, the mutiny act here, and find it amazingly tender both in regard to Scotland and Ireland. That part of it only which regards the discipline extends to Ireland. It is very extraordinary that, by the best information I have been able to procure, the troops are quartered there under no direct law whatever, here or there; but, either on account of old prerogative or custom, or the necessity of the thing being understood, it is generally submitted to.

As things stand in America, there are so many considerations cross upon each other, that all the difficulties of the situation are scarce within compass to be stated. One great difficulty, however is, that whatever the conduct of New York, or even of America may be, arising from the diffidence and excess of apprehension which your Lordship mentions, it were to be wished not to establish a precedent in whatever is done, which may hereafter be turned to purposes of oppression, and to promote measures opposite to those general public principles upon which the stamp act was repealed. Another is, that if these infatuated people should be tempted to resist in the last instance, — which there is the greatest reason to apprehend will be the case from the governor's letter and their address ; though I profess, and very sincerely feel the want of that experience and sagacity, which is necessary to form any judgment of the intentions of foreign powers, where so much circumspection is to be expected, — I think it too plain, from the accounts we daily receive, that France and Spain would no longer defer breaking a peace, the days of which they already begin to count.

These considerations make it almost impossible to propose anything which can directly meet the object : on the other hand, the public conviction goes so strongly to believing the dependence of the colonies at stake ; and the opinion is so confirmed by their conduct since the repeal, which it must be expected will be both coloured and heightened by

the arts of their enemies, that, be the danger what it will, government appears called upon for some measure of vigour, to support the authority of parliament and the coercive power of this country.

Captain Campbell declines the government of Pensacola; but Captain Byron ⁽¹⁾, whom I have just seen, seems, I think, disposed to accept it, but desires till to-morrow to give his answer. I wrote immediately to the board of trade, that the memorial from New York being addressed to the House of Commons, the House should be *acquainted* of it, and the governor's letter. There has been a good deal of difficulty as to form, but to-day Lord Clare is to lay it before the House. The extraordinaries of the army are likewise to be proposed. ⁽²⁾ As I send your Lordship a letter from

(1) The honourable John Byron, grandfather of the great poet. He declined the proffered appointment, but in 1769 accepted the governorship of Newfoundland.

(2) In a letter to Mr. Flood, written on the 19th, Lord Charlemont says, — "All matters here go on as usual. Lord Chatham is daily expected, and till he arrives, nothing worth informing you of is likely to happen. There has been, upon various topics, a great deal of conversation in the House of Commons, but no division. One thing, however, appears very extraordinary, if not indecent: no member of the opposition speaks without directly abusing Lord Chatham, and no friend ever rises to take his part. *Qui non defendit alio culpante* is scarcely a degree less black than *Absentem qui rodit amicum*. Never was known such disunion, such a want of concert, as visibly appears on both sides: how it will end heaven only knows! Charles Townshend appears rather out of humour; but his discontents are of no great moment. The House sat till eight o'clock: an excellent debate. American extraordinaries were the subject, and the question was put upon a motion of George

the Duke of Grafton, I say nothing as to the determination of the cabinet about India affairs, except that I take it for granted it will put all India-House negotiation at an end. I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

[In the handwriting of his secretary.]

Marlborough, Monday, February 16, 1767.

THE gout having returned so severely upon Lord Chatham at Marlborough, as to confine him to his

Grenville, that an address be presented, to pray that the enormous expenses in America be lessened, and that the troops be withdrawn from the frontiers and forts to the internal part of the provinces. The numbers were 67 to 132,—the most powerful minority that has yet appeared, especially considering that few of the Rockinghams voted; excepting these, this may be considered as a general muster. There was a great deal of good speaking. Conway spoke often, and well; George Grenville very little in two hours; Charles Townshend, who would probably have been silent had he not been called up by Rigby, excelled himself; I never heard even him so well: he harangued most inimitably on *both sides of the question*, and by turns was cheered by every party in the House. Burke did not speak; his brother has had the misfortune to break his leg, and his uneasiness at this unlucky accident was one cause of his silence."

bed, he desires, with his best respects to Lord Shelburne, to acquaint his Lordship with his situation, which detains him, so unhappily for himself, from attending his duty at this very critical conjuncture. The moment he is able to move, he will endeavour to reach London.

In the mean time, Lord Chatham humbly submits as his opinion, that it is advisable, and even necessary, to put off the proceedings in the inquiry, till the final intention of the Company and their application to government, in consequence of this resolution of the general court, can be brought to maturity enough to be laid before parliament. If Lord Shelburne and the rest of the King's servants should concur in this opinion, Lord Chatham begs his Lordship will acquaint Mr. Beckford with what shall be agreed upon, as soon as conveniently may be; and also with the impossibility that Lord Chatham was under of writing to him.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Monday, half-past eleven, p. m.
[February 16, 1767.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE been honoured this morning with your Lordship's commands by Padmore. Your Lordship will have received the Duke of Grafton's letter

with an account of the present state of the Indian business, which I am extremely glad to find meets your Lordship's intention. His Grace, I take it for granted, has enclosed to you the minute of cabinet, stating their proposal as it stands being unintelligible, with several queries, upon which they were desired to explain themselves. The Duke of Grafton has since seen the chairman and deputy chairman ; who said they were infinitely obliged to every lord of the cabinet for not commanding their attendance, as they must have been silent. They desired, for that reason, to put the paper of queries in their pocket, without reading it till they got to the India House, where they would prepare the answer, but were afraid it was impossible to do it so soon as Friday ; which leaves it open to Mr. Beckford to state himself as ready, which I understand he is, to go into the inquiry, having delayed it hitherto more out of candour to Mr. Townshend's declaration than his own opinion, which has always been, that it could not be transacted out of parliament, and will give Mr. Townshend and Mr. Conway an opportunity, in answer, to state the matter as it is ; that there has been a proposal, which not being sufficiently clear to lay before parliament, has been returned to the directors for further explanation upon it which they have promised to give, but has not yet been received : the consequence, I suppose, of which must of course be further adjournment, for at least a week longer.

If this meets your Lordship's idea, I will take care to give it all possible attention, and will make it my business to see Mr. Beckford upon it, and that it shall be properly understood. If it does not, I beg your Lordship to let me have your further commands any time to-morrow. I am sure I need not endeavour to express to your Lordship my concern for the occasion of your delay, or for the inconvenient situation I am afraid you find yourself in.

I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

Your Lordship's faithful

obliged humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON
AND THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

[In the handwriting of his Secretary.]

Marlborough, Tuesday, February 17, 1767.
 $\frac{3}{4}$ past 7, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM continues much in the same state he was yesterday, and quite unable to enter into any detail of things; he therefore only begs leave humbly to submit his opinion, that the proposal from the East India Company, vague and extravagant as it is, should not be finally dismissed by the King's servants, but, on all accounts, left to the conclusive judgment of parliament.

Lord Chatham is also of opinion that it seems most advisable and indispensable, that the first pro-

ceeding in the continuation of the inquiry should be, to desire to be informed if any applications, and what, have been made from the directors of the East India Company and the servants of the Crown, relative to the state of the Company's affairs, in consequence of the resolution of the general court.

With regard to New York, Lord Chatham desires to submit his opinion, that the disobedience of the assembly of that province to the mutiny act is a matter so weighty, and big with consequences, which may strike so deep and spread so wide, that it ought, on no account, to rest on the advice of meetings of the cabinet, and the course of office ; but that the memorial transmitted by the governor of New York, relative to this event, ought, in the proper manner, to be laid before parliament, in order that his Majesty may be founded in, and strengthened by, the sense of his grand council, with regard to whatever steps shall be found necessary to be taken in this most unfortunate business.

Lord Chatham humbly offers to the consideration of the King's servants the above opinions ; and also begs that they may be laid, with all duty and submission, at his Majesty's feet.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Endorsed, "Copy of a note from the Earl of Chatham to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Shelburne."

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, February 22, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE East India directors brought to me yesterday the inclosed paper ⁽¹⁾ as an answer to the questions

(¹) The following is a copy : —

“ East India House.

“ At a Committee of Treasury, the 20th February, 1767.

“ The Committee of Treasury of the East India Company, in obedience to your Lordship's commands, beg leave to lay before your Lordships a more particular state and explanation of the propositions delivered in by them to your Lordships, dated the 6th of February instant.

“ 1st. By the word ‘annexed’ was meant, that the possession of the late acquisitions and revenues, mentioned in the propositions, should be declared to remain in the Company for the term they have at present in their exclusive trade, and during the additional term applied for.

“ 2dly. It is impossible to ascertain the amount of the civil and military establishments in India, which must be different in peace and war, and will be affected by various other circumstances; but it is proposed, that the amount of those expenses shall be adjusted by an account thereof, yearly transmitted by each presidency where they are incurred.

“ 3dly. The sum proposed to be deducted annually for contingent payments is the interest of the Company's bond debts with a deduction of five per cent. on the sales for payment of warehouse rent, landing, weighing, housing, and delivering of goods, wages, wear and tear of the Company's own vessels, pensions to seamen's widows and others, charges of Poplar Hospital, charges of raising, maintaining, and transporting troops to India, buildings and repairs, and other charges of management and incidental expenses.

“ 4thly. The sum or proportion proposed to be allowed to the proprietors for profits of trade is a deduction, in the first instance, of a sum equal to the dividend payable to the proprietors. The other necessary purposes (after deduction from

on the meaning of their former paper, which by the direction of the King's servants I had delivered to them. I know not how satisfactory they may appear to the other lords of the cabinet; but I profess that I thought I could *guess* better at the meaning of their propositions than now after their explanation. In short, my Lord, it seems now that our thoughts must be turned to the most advisable steps to be taken upon this great affair by the King's servants in parliament, where the decision of the right must, I think, be in the first place determined. Resolutions to be moved on this business must be well weighed, and worded so as to carry the effect that administration aims at.

When you are free from pain, I am confident you are turning this thoroughly in your thoughts; as I am certain that your plan is much desired by all the ministers in general, many of whom, among which I am, would not willingly give into any other

the sales of freights, demorage, commission to supra-cargoes, and government duties) are the prime cost of the Company's investments to India, and a provision for payment of such bills of exchange as shall be drawn from thence for moneys paid into the Company's treasuries there, which will be returned in investments. These two last-mentioned particulars, the committee apprehend, cannot be ascertained, as they depend on the increase of trade and other contingencies, and therefore must be adjusted by annual accounts to be delivered in.

"5thly. The sum thought necessary to be borrowed beyond the five hundred thousand pounds mentioned in the proposition, is what will be sufficient to pay off the simple contract creditors of the company, who are pressing for their money, which, it is supposed may be nearly one million."

until they knew your sentiments. If your Lordship acquaints me that you are likely to be detained still at Marlborough, I am ready to run down there to talk this whole matter over with your Lordship, and to receive and communicate your wishes upon it. If you would have me come, let me know the time of the day that I shall arrive there to be the least inconvenient for you to see me, who have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient

and faithful servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Marlborough, Monday, February 23, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM's best respects attend the Duke of Grafton, with many acknowledgments for the honour of his Grace's very obliging letter. Nothing can be more kind than the offer the Duke of Grafton has the great goodness to make, of which Lord Chatham desires to express the humblest and warmest sense. At the same time, his Grace will give him leave to suggest that, until he is able to move towards London, it is by no means practicable for him to enter into discussions of business.

He desires further to add, that, with regard to East India regulations, his fixed purpose has always been,

and is, not to be a proposer of plans, but, as far as a seat in one House enables, an unbiassed judge of them. Friday se'nnight, the day mentioned in the Duke of Grafton's letter, as fixed for the inquiry in the House of Commons, being the 6th of March, leaves room to hope the gout may, before that time, be enough abated to admit of getting to London.

As to the proposal from the East India House, with their explanation, Lord Chatham only begs leave to refer to his former clear opinion, transmitted to his Grace by Cleverley, with regard to the full information which parliament indispensably ought to have concerning this transaction.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hill Street, Wednesday night.
[February 25, 1767.]

MY LORD,

I SHALL, in as few words as I possibly can, relate to your Lordship what passed to-day at court with Lord Bathurst⁽¹⁾, a strenuous advocate of the

(¹) Allen, first Earl Bathurst. His Lordship was born in 1684, and died in 1775, at the great age of ninety-one. He was intimately acquainted with Congreve, Swift, Prior, Rowe, Addison, Pope, Gay, and all the other great characters who adorned the beginning of the eighteenth century. His character is thus drawn by Sir E. Brydges:—"To his other virtues, he added all the good breeding, politeness, and elegance of social intercourse: no person of rank, perhaps, ever knew better how to unite *otium cum dignitate*. The improvements

right of the public, since the affairs of India have come under consideration. On this account he applied first to me and afterwards to the Duke of Grafton to say, that he thought it would be of the greatest consequence if the House of Commons came to a resolution regarding the right, which he earnestly hoped would be the case; that one of like import should pass the House of Lords, and if possible at the same time; and that as he remembered perfectly what passed at the time of the South Sea affairs, when all papers were alike called for in both Houses, he was ready on this occasion, and with this view, to move for the necessary papers in the House of Lords, if the King's ministers approved it. I told him, that it was impossible for me to answer for the rest of the King's servants, further than that they could not but be highly obliged by his Lordship's communication, but that I would certainly acquaint them of it; which is the occasion of my troubling your Lordship at present.

he made round his seat at Cirencester were worthy of his fortune, and showed the grandeur of his taste. In this respect Pope paid him a just and fine compliment —

‘ Who then shall grace, or who improve the soil ?

Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle.’

How completely he understood the right application of a large fortune is well expressed by the same great poet, in his epistle to him on the right use of riches. His Lordship preserved to the close of his life his natural cheerfulness and vivacity. He delighted latterly in rural amusements, and enjoyed with a philosophical calmness the shade of the lofty trees he had planted. Till within a month of his death, he constantly rode out two hours every morning, and drank his bottle of wine after dinner.”

There being barely a week between this and the day which the House of Commons have peremptorily fixed to enter upon this matter, it appears scarcely possible for the House of Lords, if the papers are laid before them by that day, to be so soon ripe to decide upon them. If your Lordship should think it a proper way of proceeding, a more distant one may be fixed, when your Lordship may not only be in town, but, I hope, well enough to attend such a decision; which cannot but be agreeable to every friend of the public, as well as administration.

I forbear, for many reasons, troubling your Lordship with any particulars relative to the King's servants. You must have foreseen, I am confident, that leaving this matter pretty largely to parliament must naturally startle such of the King's servants whose minds went to a composition. However, the council appears decided, and I am persuaded following your Lordship's judgment is so; our proceedings likewise have public ground to stand upon, and will, I hope, speak for themselves. I am, with truest respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's faithful

and obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburne.

[In the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

Marlborough, Thursday night,
[February 26, 1767.]

LORD CHATHAM'S best compliments attend Lord Shelburne, with many thanks for the honour of his Lordship's letter, and is extremely obliged to him for his kind attentions to an invalid. His gout is not so severe to-day as it has been; so that he has, though with difficulty, been put into a coach for air, and to try how he could bear motion. Not finding himself worse this evening, he is willing to hope he shall soon mend. In the mean time, he begs only to say that the offer of Lord Bathurst, whose zeal is highly meritorious, seems to require much consideration, the expediency of it admitting of some doubt.

GEORGE COOKE, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.Lincoln's Inn Fields, Friday,
February 27, 1767, past 11.

MY LORD,

THE question with regard to the land-tax was carried in the committee for three shillings in the

(¹) See Vol. II. p. 338. Mr. Cooke was at this time joint paymaster general.

pound, ayes 206, noes 188. ⁽¹⁾ My particular situation as member for Middlesex, and being chosen by the unanimous and affectionate voice of my constituents, rendered it impossible for me not to vote for the three shillings, as I am certain, had I done otherwise, I should at once have forfeited their good opinion; it being a point wherein they are so deeply interested, and in general taxed to the height.

Under these circumstances, I hope your Lordship will not take it amiss. I have, and ever shall have, the most firm and steady attachment to you, from principle and from gratitude. I lament most sincerely your unhappy confinement with the gout; my prayers and wishes are for your speedy re-

⁽¹⁾ In the committee of ways and means, Mr. Charles Townshend had this day proposed the land-tax of four shillings in the pound. He contended, that it was necessary for one year longer, "to give room for the most brilliant operation of finance which this country ever saw, to ensure to us dignity abroad, stability at home, and enable us to enter with advantage into any future war." Mr. Dowdeswell moved, that instead of four, three shillings should be substituted; and in this he was supported by Mr. George Grenville, who undertook to point out more than one method by which the interest of 500,000*l.*, the produce of one shilling in the pound, amounting only, at three and a half per cent., to 17,500*l.*, might be raised, without laying any sensible burden upon the subject. The surprise and disappointment of the ministers at the result of the division was extreme. "This," says the Annual Register, "was said to have been the first money bill in which any minister had been disappointed since the revolution; and it was now looked upon as a fatal symptom of weakness. In this the public was, however, mistaken, though appearances seemed strongly to countenance the opinion."

covery. You will make me very happy by ordering your secretary to write me a line in answer. I cannot presume to ask that favour of yourself; who am, my Lord, with the greatest deference,

Your most faithful, most obliged, and
devoted humble servant,

GEORGE COOKE.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, February 28, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I MUST lose no time in acquainting your Lordship, that a motion was made yesterday by Mr. Dowdeswell and seconded by Sir Edward Isham for a three shilling land-tax. After a long debate, the treasury was beat, having but 188 to 206. The majority was composed of the gentlemen composing the Cocoa-tree. The Bedfords, Grenvilles, Rockingham, and Newcastles united with most others, who had county or popular elections. This measure cripples the treasury operations to such a degree this year, that it is a most disheartening circumstance to those who wish to do a little good.

I had begun my letter when his Majesty sent for me; and I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that, though sorry for the disgrace of the defeat, he was particularly expressive of the additional spirit that this *revers* gave him.

We are all most heartily desirous of receiving your Lordship here, and Lord Shelburne tells us that we are likely to have that honour soon. Your presence becomes every hour more necessary ; and I am not without hopes but this letter may meet you advanced upon the road. The Duke of Bedford was desirous to move for what papers government had relating to American non-compliance, unless administration told him, that it was their intention to lay it before the House. On which I assured him, that they would have had them without a motion ; and Thursday se'nnight seems the day, though not moved yet, agreed upon, for something to be said on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, with the truest regard, esteem, and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

GRAFTON.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 3d of March, Lord Chesterfield writes to Mr. Stanhope : — “ Lord Chatham at last came to town yesterday, full of gout, and is not able to stir hand or foot. During his absence Charles Townshend has talked of him and at him, in such a manner, that henceforwards they must be either much worse or much better together than ever they were in their lives. On Friday last, Mr. Dowdeswell and Mr. Grenville moved to have one shilling in the pound of the land-tax taken off ; which was opposed by the court ; but the court lost it by eighteen. The opposition triumph much upon this victory ; though, I think, without reason ; for it is plain that all the landed gentlemen bribed themselves with this shilling in the pound.”

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

[March 2, 1767.]

MADAM,

I SHOULD make a great many excuses for taking the liberty of troubling your Ladyship with a letter, but that I prefer this method of conveying the King's commands, which I was honoured with this morning to Lord Chatham, rather than to send a letter directed immediately to himself, as your Ladyship will be best able to judge of the proper time of making the communication to his Lordship.

His Majesty ordered me to express, in the strongest and the amplest terms, his own steadiness and resolution to support Lord Chatham ; that his Majesty wished to infuse his own firmness into the breasts of those who grew apprehensive, and was convinced that, as soon as Lord Chatham's health would allow of his taking that active part he was persuaded his zeal prompted him to, but illness alone prevented, all the clouds which are now hanging over us would be dispersed, and the King had no sort of doubt but he would be able to assist with his advice as effectually as ever. His Majesty said he wished to see Lord Chatham, if it was but for a quarter of an hour ; that he would not talk upon business, but only wanted to have the world know that he had attended him, for his own mind was not wavering ; that he knew it was the same thing

whether he opened the door of the closet at present to the Opposition, or suffered those gentlemen to force it open : he was a prisoner and bound, whenever they set their foot within the closet ; as for losing questions, that did not intimidate his Majesty : he would stand his ground and be the last to yield, although he stood single.

It would ill become me to add any thing from myself, after delivering the royal commands. All my wishes are for the speedy recovery of my friend's health, that he may be confirmed in all I have made known to him, by the verbal assurances of the most amiable of masters. I am, with the most unfeigned respect, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, March 3, 1767,

10 m. past 6, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I RECEIVED with great pleasure, on returning from the play last night, the account of your arrival, and am anxious to know how you continue. During your severe confinement I have laid a great share of its duration to the uneasiness you have felt from considering how necessary

your presence was for my service, and that of the public.

I do not think it fair to detain you longer, but cannot conclude without expressing my reliance that your firmness will be encouraged with redoubled ardour to withstand that evil called connection, after the extraordinary event of Friday⁽¹⁾: as to myself, I own it has that effect on me.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Tuesday evening. [March 3, 1767.]

LORD CHATHAM begs to be permitted to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, and to pour out a heart overflowing with the most reverential and warm sense of his Majesty's infinite condescension. He entreats most humbly to renew the tender of his devoted services (grieving to think how feeble they are); every hour more and more animated by the truly royal magnanimity of his Majesty, after the unaccountable event of Friday.

He is most unhappy still to continue out of a condition to attend his Majesty's most gracious presence.

(¹) The defeat of the ministry in the House of Commons. See p. 222.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, March 7, 1767,
17 m. past 6, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I CANNOT help taking up my pen to express how contented I am at the favourable appearance of the House of Commons yesterday. The not expressing any uneasiness at the division of the last Friday has greatly contributed to this; which is chiefly owing to that intrepidity which ever attends you.

Now you are arrived in town, every difficulty will daily decrease; and though I confess that I do not think I have met with that treatment I had reason to expect from many individuals now strangely united in opposition, without any more honourable reasons than because they are out of place, yet I can never believe but the majority of the nation must feel themselves interested to wish to support my measures, while my ministers steadily assist me in pursuing such as are calculated solely for the benefit of my dominions.

I cannot conclude without desiring to learn how you continue, and insisting on your not coming out till you can do it with safety.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

March 7, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM most humbly begs leave to lay himself at the King's feet, and wants words to convey to his Majesty his duty, submission, and devotion, and how deeply he is penetrated with the exceeding condescension and transcending goodness of his Majesty.

The appearance of returning reason in the House of Commons is solely owing to his Majesty's magnanimity and wisdom, in the present great crisis. The preposterous unions of clashing Factions will not, till things change their nature, outweigh and finally overbear the honest sense of the nation, dutifully attached to a most benignant sovereign, pursuing nothing but the welfare and happiness of his people.

In obedience to his Majesty's most gracious commands, Lord Chatham presumes to mention his own health, which mends, though slowly. He counts every hour till he is able to attend his Majesty's gracious presence.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

Thursday morning, March 12, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM lays himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, and most humbly begs his Majesty's gracious permission to attend his Majesty at the Queen's house this morning.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, March 13, 1767.

THE Duke of Grafton presents his best respects to Lord Chatham: he would have waited on him this morning to have communicated to him what passed at the cabinet last night, but he has so bad a headache, that if he is able to crawl to St. James's for a moment it is the most he can do.

The American, or rather New York point was settled, and that it should be by act of parliament. Mr. Conway had his doubts, but would endeavour every thing he could to bring his mind to it. ⁽¹⁾

(1) "The contumacious conduct of the legislature of New York," says Mr. Adolphus, "was deservedly reprobated, and in the House of Commons some rigorous coercive measures were proposed; but at length it was thought sufficient to frame a law, prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly of that province from passing or assenting to any legislative act, for any purposes whatsoever, till the terms of the American Mutiny Act should be complied with. This bill was opposed by Governor Pownall, whose arguments were supported by Alderman Beckford, but without effect."

The vote of supply for the American extraordinaries was then considered; when Mr. Townshend declared, that if the reduction of them was not determined before the closing of the committee of supply, by drawing the troops nearer the great towns, laying the Indian charges upon the provinces, and by laying a tax on the American ports, he would not remain chancellor of the exchequer. His behaviour, on the whole, was such as no cabinet will, I am confident, ever submit to.

If your Lordship could see Sir Fletcher Norton for a few minutes, I have great reason to think you might quite fix him. The complaint from every quarter of want of communication is so very general, that I own to your Lordship I am distressed how to answer so just a ground of dissatisfaction, which I find from the idea of government proceeding without any settled plan.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Friday morning, March 13, 1767.

MY LORD,

As the Duke of Grafton said he intended going to your Lordship this morning, I take it for granted he will inform you of what passed at the meeting last night particularly. The third proposition was in general agreed to by the King's servants, except by General Conway, who declared he could not give

a decisive opinion until he had further time to consider of it.

Mr. Townshend then mentioned the extraordinaries of America, and the necessity of voting a particular sum ; which he said he neither could nor would move, unless the cabinet previously took the whole state of America into consideration, and enabled him to declare to the House the opinion of administration as to the forts, the Indian trade, the disposition of the troops, in short the whole arrangements, considered with a view to a general reduction of expense, and a duty which he undertook should be laid to defray what remained : that he had promised this to the House, and upon the authority of what passed in the cabinet ; and if he could not make it good, he should be obliged to consider the best means, by what he should say or by his conduct, to make it appear that it was not his fault, and against his opinion. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ It is impossible to read this letter without being forcibly reminded of the following splendid passages in Mr. Burke's celebrated speech, in 1774, on American taxation : — " If ever Lord Chatham fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary of his own were sure to predominate. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into

I acquainted your Lordship of this the last time I had the honour of waiting on you from Lord

any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme." * * * * "He had voted, and in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the stamp act. Things, and the disposition of men's minds were changed. In short, the stamp act began to be no favourite in this House. He, therefore, attended at the private meeting, in which the resolutions moved by a right honourable gentleman were settled; resolutions leading to the repeal. The next day, he voted for that repeal; and he would have spoken for it too, if an illness (not, as was then given out, a political), but, to my knowledge, a very real illness, had not prevented it. The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this House as the stamp act had been in the session before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail mostly amongst those most in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements by some who had no objection to such experiments, when made at the cost of persons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onwards. They always talked as if the King stood in a sort of humiliated state, until something of the kind should be done. Here this extraordinary man, then chan-

Barrington ; the difficulty greatly arising from several conjectural estimates being laid by him before the House. I was surprised at Mr. Townshend's conduct, which really continues excessive on every occasion, till I afterwards understood in conversation, that he declared he knew of Lord North's refusal, and from himself. The Duke of Grafton told me, and I suppose may tell your Lordship, that he sent to Lord North to ask him. It appears to me quite impossible that Mr. Townshend can mean to go on in the King's service; but of this your Lordship will

cellor of the exchequer, found himself in great straits. To please universally was the object of his life ; but to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. To render tax palatable to the partisans of American revenue, he made a preamble, stating the necessity of such a revenue. To close with the American distinction, this revenue was *external*, or port duty ; but again, to soften it to the other party, it was a duty of *supply*. To gratify the *colonists*, it was laid on British manufactures ; to satisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted East India Company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a shilling to three-pence. But to secure the favour of those who would tax America, the scene of collection was changed, and, with the rest, it was levied in the colonies. What need I say more ? This fine-spun scheme had the usual fate of all exquisite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both arose singly and solely from a love of our applause. He was truly the child of the House. He never thought, did, or said any thing, but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition ; and adjusted himself before it as at a looking-glass. Hence arose this unfortunate act."

judge much better than I can, after the Duke of Grafton has given you a farther account. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most obliged
humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, half an hour after three,
March 19, 1767.

MY LORD,

I TAKE the liberty of acquainting your Lordship, that the House was up about three. The Duke of Beaufort⁽¹⁾ moved the address with great dignity and propriety, without being more embarrassed than was right for a new speaker. Earl Temple got up directly, and though he professed his readiness to concur in a provision for the three royal dukes, yet he acquainted us that he reserved himself, when the bill came in, to give his opinion in relation to the mode, and flung out that the provision should come wholly out of the civil list, and meant only that a power should be given to the Crown to charge

(¹) Henry, fifth duke of Beaufort. His grace had married, in the preceding year, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Admiral Boscawen. In 1768, he was appointed master of the horse, and in 1786 was elected knight of the garter. He died in 1803. The address above referred to was in answer to a message from the King concerning a provision for his Majesty's brothers, the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland.

these provisions upon the civil list, after the demise of our most amiable sovereign. Earl Talbot rose directly, and in order to prevent a debate this day, desired that we might now concur unanimously in the address, and let it be discussed at a future day: this was agreed to. The opposition has now shown the ground it intends to proceed upon, which is to saddle the Crown with the whole maintenance of the royal brothers, and not to let the public contribute any more towards the support of the whole royal family, than by the payment of the civil list.

I am, with the highest esteem and most entire attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obliged, most affectionate,
faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, March 23, 1767.

MY LORD,

I HAVE long been convinced of the strength of your Lordship's ground in the closet. I may venture to affirm that, as I had the honour of being there yesterday, you never stood higher in the estimation of our royal master than at this time. The mutiny in our garrison, the shyness of half friends, the backwardness of the irresolute, the shameful desertion of those who voluntarily en-

listed, have no other effect upon the mind of our amiable sovereign, than to make him more resolute in the support of the ablest and best minister this country was ever blessed with. There is reason to think that the present motley Opposition is so convinced of the King's firmness, that their last gleam of hope for overturning the present administration lies in their endeavours to exhaust your Lordship's patience, and that by thwarting all your schemes for the public good, they may necessitate your relinquishing the reins of government. My former opinion relative to my conversation with Sir James Calder is more and more confirmed to me. He again came up to me yesterday at St. James's, and repeated all he had before said, but still tried to convince me it was no message; and then, lest he should take off from the weight of what he had alleged, he made use of still stronger expressions, by assuring me that the Earl of Bute was determined to fling all his interest into your Lordship's scale. Forgive me, my dear Lord, importuning you so often with my letters; but it is not possible for me to restrain my zeal for your service, whilst I receive so much encouragement by your goodness.

I have the honour to be, with perfect esteem and respectful attachment, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, faithful,
and most devoted humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, March 29, 1767.

THE Duke of Grafton's best respects wait on Lord Chatham. He begs leave to remind his Lordship of a circumstance he took the liberty some time ago to write to him upon, when Lord Chatham was at Bath, and by which his Lordship would much facilitate the getting through the business of the budget; an object, for many reasons, so very desirable at present.

The Duke of Grafton understands that his Lordship's balance as paymaster lies in the bank without being of any use to his Lordship; and therefore it must be indifferent to him to have it paid into the exchequer. If this is the case, Lord Chatham may prefer that the balance should be paid in; and if done now, it may be the means of enlarging, in some measure, the operation of the treasury for this year; which, since the reduction of the land-tax, is cramped enough. ⁽¹⁾

(1) When Mr. Pitt was appointed paymaster-general in 1746, it was customary for a sum of one hundred thousand pounds to remain, by way of advance, in the paymaster's hands. This money, in the time of his predecessors, was usually vested in government securities, and brought a considerable annual return, which was appropriated by the paymaster to his private use. Aware of the mischiefs to which the practice had a direct tendency, Mr. Pitt uniformly deposited his balances in the Bank of England, without deriving the smallest emolument therefrom.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, April 5, 1767.

MY LORD,

I WENT into the closet this morning to show the note I had the honour of receiving yesterday in Lady Chatham's hand-writing, and therefore I take the liberty of acquainting you, how pleased the King was when I informed his Majesty that I had asked an audience, on purpose to give the freshest intelligence of your Lordship's health. The King commanded me to say, that my information was the most agreeable he had met with, and to express his gracious satisfaction at your Lordship's taking the country air. The reports here concerning your state have been of the most alarming kind. You have been represented, my Lord, to be as ill as it was possible to be and living; and upon my asking the King whether that had reached his royal ear, his Majesty answered, "I can assure you, you would not see me in such spirits, if I believed there was ground for such a report."

I now hear for certain, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intends to resign as soon as the budget is opened. This is his present determination, and Mr. Conway is expected to take the same step before the holidays. ⁽¹⁾ Earl Temple,

⁽¹⁾ "For these ten days past," writes Lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood, on the 9th of April, "Lord Chatham has not been allowed to see any body, nor even to receive letters. He is

Lord Lyttelton, and the Earl of Suffolk are to oppose the mode of providing for the three royal dukes, on Tuesday. Mr. Mackenzie ⁽¹⁾ had a long conversation with me this day: he talks currently of *us*, told me of the good dispositions of his brother's friends, named Sir Gilbert Elliott and Mr. Oswald, and wishes to have some discourse with your Lordship, whenever you are able to see him. He is full of zeal; our most amiable royal master is full of steadiness. Would to Heaven your health, my dear Lord, was restored; and with your head, your heart, and the power together with the favour of the closet, what might not be expected for this country! I am, with the most affectionate respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and
most devoted humble servant,

BRISTOL.

still minister, but how long he may continue so is a problem that would pose the deepest politician. The Opposition grows more and more violent, and seems to gain ground. The ministry is divided into as many parties as there are men in it; all complain of his want of participation. Charles Townshend is at open war, Conway is angry, Lord Shelburne out of humour, and the Duke of Grafton by no means pleased. Lord Bute's friends have at length positively declared themselves, and vigorously and openly defended. Facts are daily discovered greatly in favour of the ministry; but what of that? How few are there who will be influenced, even by the strongest facts! In short, such is the confusion, that it is impossible to guess to-day at what will happen to-morrow."

(¹) The Hon. James Stuart Mackenzie, brother of the Earl of Bute. See Vol. II. p. 122.

THE EARL OF ROCHFORD TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.*(Private.)*

Paris, April 6, 1767.

MY LORD,

I FLATTER myself your Lordship will not think it strange that I take the liberty to write to you, in a confidential manner, by the Bishop of Cloyne ; but I should not act agreeably to the opinion of your Lordship, nor to my own feelings, if I concealed from you whatever came to my knowledge here, that regarded your Lordship personally. Mr. Wilkes gives out amongst his friends, that he intends soon publishing here a pamphlet he has written, the drift of which is to attack your Lordship's administration ; and if it is written conformably to the language I am informed he holds, it will be both abusive and violent. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In the autumn of 1766, Mr. Wilkes, who at that time was living in France, came over to this country ; and, upon his arrival, addressed a letter to the Duke of Grafton, in which he expressed a hope that the rigour of his long exile was past, and that he might be allowed to continue in the land, and among the friends, of liberty. To this application he received a verbal answer, "that he must apply to Lord Chatham ;" but this, he alleged, he could not do "without a sacrifice of his honour." He accordingly returned to Paris, and there gave vent to his feelings by publishing, in the summer of 1767, the abusive pamphlets referred to in the above letter, in which he complains bitterly of Lord Chatham's "flinty and marble heart," and describes his Lordship as "a proud, insolent, overbearing man, always full of the ideas of his own importance, and now become the abject, crouching deputy of the proud Scot."

Sensible, as I am, that such a pamphlet will have no weight with those who are perfectly acquainted with your Lordship's character, yet you will allow me to say, that I should be concerned to see such a production suffered to be published in this government; which would infallibly be the case, if no previous application was made to prevent it: and I have the greatest reason to believe, that by speaking a word to the Duc de Choiseul, he would put a stop to it; this, however, I could not take upon me to do, well knowing your Lordship's delicacy, without your approbation; and after having well weighed the consequences that can result from such a step, I am firmly of opinion, that he will be glad to show your Lordship this mark of his personal regard, and that, even supposing he would not, it would afford at least an opportunity of discovering how far he is your well-wisher; which I flatter myself your Lordship believes I should have penetration enough to discover, by the conversation I should have with him on the subject.

All I have to add is, to beg you would believe that I do not trouble you with this to pay my court, or out of officiousness, but from a conviction that the welfare of England depends on the continuance, as well as wisdom of your Lordship's administration, and that any thing which can affect either must be attended with the worst of consequences.

I will trespass a little further on your Lordship's time to add, that I do not as yet see any reason to change my notions of the system of this country:

they mean peace, but the court of Vienna keeps filling them with jealousies, which the Duc de Choiseul, who desires peace, wards off as well as he can; and if we contribute to diminish their suspicions, the attempts of other courts will not avail. I must again beg pardon for this confidential manner of writing to one I have so little the honour to be personally acquainted with; but I shall esteem myself happy in being furnished with frequent opportunities of assuring your Lordship of the perfect truth and regard, with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most faithful humble servant,

ROCHFORD.

JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Auchinleck, April 8, 1767.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter from Bath, and I perfectly feel the sentiments which it contains. I only wish that circumstances were such that your Lordship could have an opportunity of showing the interest you take in the fate of a people, who well deserve the favour of so illustrious a patron of liberty as your Lordship. I have communicated to General Paoli the contents of your Lordship's letter, and I am persuaded he will think as I do.

Allow me to give your Lordship another quotation from a letter of that hero. It is addressed to a friend of mine at Leghorn: — “Essendo al ministero il Conte di Chatham, voglio sperar tutto il buon successo alla generosa premura del Signor Boswell, per la rivocazione dell’ingiuriosa proclama del 1763. Quel sublime genio della Gran Brettagna, e quell’anima grande ne’ propri sentimenti e nel sistema della sua politica, ritrovera i più efficaci motivi per far uscir la sua corte dello stato di indifferenza sopra gli affari di Corsica.” I leave with the Earl of Chatham these words of General Paoli, and I am persuaded *quell’anima grande* will not forget them.

Your Lordship applauds my “generous warmth for so striking a character as the able chief.” Indeed, my Lord, I have the happiness of being capable to contemplate with supreme delight those distinguished spirits by whom God is sometimes pleased to honour humanity; and as I have no personal favour to ask of your Lordship, I will tell you, with the confidence of one who does not fear to be thought a flatterer, that your character, my Lord, has filled many of my best hours with that noble admiration, which a disinterested soul can enjoy in the bower of philosophy.

I think it my duty to inform your Lordship, that I am preparing to publish an account of Corsica. My plan is, first, to give a geographical and physical description of the island; secondly, to exhibit a concise view of the revolutions it has undergone

from the earliest times till now ; thirdly, to show the present state of Corsica in every respect ; and lastly, I subjoin my journal of a tour to that island, in which I relate a variety of anecdotes, and treasure up many memoirs of the illustrious general of the Corsicans,—*memorabilia Paoli*.

As for myself, to please a worthy and respected father⁽¹⁾, one of our Scots judges, I studied law, and am now fairly entered to the bar. I begin to like it. I can labour hard ; I feel myself coming forward, and I hope to be useful to my country. Could your Lordship find time to honour me now and then with a letter ? I have been told how fa-

(1) To a letter from Boswell, containing regrets at his own want of resolution, and mentioning his having taken a vow as a security for good conduct, Dr. Johnson makes this admirable reply : — “ Your resolution to obey your father I sincerely approve ; but do not accustom yourself to enchain your volatility by vows ; they will sometimes leave a thorn in your mind, which you will, perhaps, never be able to extract or eject. Take this warning ; it is of great importance. The study of the law is what you very justly term it, copious and generous ; and in adding your name to its professors, you have done exactly what I always wished, when I wished you best. I hope that you will continue to pursue it vigorously and constantly. You ought to think it no small inducement to diligence and perseverance, that they will please your father. We all live upon the hope of pleasing somebody, and the pleasure of pleasing ought to be greatest, and at last always will be greatest, when our endeavours are exerted in consequence of our duty. If the profession you have chosen has some unexpected inconveniences, console yourself by reflecting that no profession is without them ; and that all the importunities of business are softness and luxury, compared with the incessant cravings of vacancy, and the unsatisfactory expedients of idleness.” — *Life*, vol. iii. p. 3. ed. 1835.

vourably your Lordship has spoken of me. To correspond with a Paoli ⁽¹⁾ and with a Chatham is enough to keep a young man ever ardent in the pursuit of virtuous fame. I ever am, my Lord, with the highest admiration,

Your Lordship's much obliged

humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Saturday, April 11, 1767.

MY LORD,

I SHOULD not take the liberty of troubling your Lordship with a letter, only to mention the debate of yesterday ⁽²⁾, which, like all other long ones, wandered from the subject; but as I was for some time in the closet yesterday, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of conveying to you the just sense the best of masters has of the best of servants and the

(1) Mr. Boswell's book was published in the February following. "Pray read the new account of Corsica," writes Horace Walpole to Gray; "what relates to Paoli will amuse you much. The author is a strange being, and has a rage of knowing any body that ever was talked of. He forced himself upon me at Paris, in spite of my teeth and my doors, and I see has given a foolish account of all he could pick up from me about King Theodore. He then took an antipathy to me on account of Rousseau, abused me in the newspapers, and exhorted Rousseau to do so too; but as he came to see me no more, I forgave all the rest. However, his book will, I am sure, entertain you."

(2) On the validity of the act passed by the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay, for making compensation to the sufferers there by the rioters.

ablest of ministers. After expressing great solicitude for your health, and being particularly anxious to be informed of every circumstance that had reached me relative to your Lordship's situation, his Majesty said, he must admire your strength of mind in not yielding to all these difficulties, and keeping up the same resolution to go through, notwithstanding your attacks of gout; "for," the King added, "what would my own steadiness avail, unless the minister is equally resolved to carry on my business? it is ever in the power of an administration to lay me upon my back" (these were the words); "but when we are both determined, it will do." The rest of the conversation consisted in doing ample justice both to your abilities and integrity, relating to me the great propriety of your Lordship's whole proceeding in the conferences both of the years 1765 and 1766.⁽¹⁾ There were some comparisons made of the difference between the conduct of your Lordship, and one whom you may guess, but I might be wanting in respect to you to name.

My Lord Chancellor spoke with great ease yesterday, and baffled all the feeble arguments of our adversaries; the numbers were 63 and 36; five bishops in the minority, and three lords of the bed-chamber, the Earls of Coventry, Eglintoun, and Buckinghamshire. The Dukes of Newcastle and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham and what is

(1) See Vol. II. pp. 309. 378.

called his party, went away without voting. Tuesday is the day that the Opposition intend to summon all their forces in the House of Commons.⁽¹⁾ I hear, from a good quarter, that the Earl of Bute's friends will all go with administration. When I say this, I do not make myself responsible for Mr. Wedderburn; for no one, I find, will be his godfather. I hope I need not repeat the assurances of the most affectionate and respectful attachment with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, obedient,
and most faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.

(¹) No report of this debate has been preserved. The following is an extract of a letter from Lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood, written on the 18th:—"Last Tuesday, the ministry gained a great victory in the House of Commons. Beckford had moved, that the East India committee should be adjourned to the 1st of May, and Sir William Meredith desired that it might then meet, in order to his making a motion to adjourn it for six months; that is to say, to put an end to it. The ministry carried the question, 213 to 157, and the committee is adjourned to the 1st of May. Upon this occasion, they entered largely into the merits of the grand question, and the House sat till two in the morning. George Grenville spoke for two hours and a half, Yorke as long, Burke fifty minutes, and very well. On Wednesday, Charles Townshend opened his budget, and spoke amazingly well. Notwithstanding the decrease of the land tax, fourteen hundred thousand pounds are to be paid off this year. Lord Chatham still continues very ill, and does no business. His doctors, however, promise fairly. The ministry, however, seem upon the whole in a better situation than they have yet been, especially since the late victory."

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, April 16, 1767.

MY LORD,

I SHALL trouble your Lordship with only a few lines to acquaint you with my having yesterday obeyed your Lordship's commands; and when I told the King that you had particularly directed me to say, that your Lordship had at no time of your life been more full of zeal for his Majesty's service than now, the King interrupted me by repeatedly saying, "I am persuaded of it, I am thoroughly persuaded of it; but did you not answer for me, and tell Lord Chatham you were equally convinced I was so."

I replied, with great truth, that as his Majesty had often condescended to authorise me to make his royal sentiments known to your Lordship, I had asserted every thing which could confirm your Lordship in that opinion. The King commanded me to add, how much his Majesty wished your speedy recovery, and how glad his Majesty was of the present recess, since it might contribute to your Lordship's amendment. I am, with the most affectionate respect and attachment, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's, most obliged and
most faithful and obedient servant,

BRISTOL.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Soho Square, April 29, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I DO most sincerely lament the slow progress of your recovery. I wish you would trust more to kind nature than the fallible rules of art. It is with concern that I think myself obliged to break in on that quietude of mind, which, in my own opinion, is necessary for the re-establishment of your health; but, *urget necessitas*. The American papers are to be taken into consideration on the morrow, and I hear the quartering act is to be enforced, *vi violentiâ, et prava voluntate*. If so, adieu peace and comfort! A former administration, by their ill-conceived projects, made the Americans stark staring mad; and at present, the Devil seems to have taken possession of their understandings.

The only remedy for this state of mind is, a cool and temperate regimen, and to avoid, if possible, every irritation of the passions. What will do in the natural body may be applied to the body politic. Sydenham was the best physician England ever bred. His practice is recorded with veneration, *Nihil faciendo, quantum fecit*. Recall your troops from the old provinces in America, where they are not wanted, and the cause of anger, hatred, and malice is removed. I am confident the Americans will, in their own assemblies, make any reasonable provision that shall be required. This quartering

act has so much of the appearance of arbitrary military power, that I did foretell in the House, it would not be submitted to with patience. I am, my dear Lord, your ever faithful and

affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, April 30, 1767,
40 m. past 7, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

HAWKINS⁽¹⁾ has acquainted me with what you authorised him to say to me yesterday. I have directed him to carry you a verbal answer; but as I am desirous you should thoroughly be acquainted with my sentiments on the present unfortunate state of your health, as I imagine it may be of use in removing any anxiety that the want of it might occasion. I embrace this opportunity of assuring you, that I am fully persuaded of your zeal and attachment to my service, and that nothing but the weight of your disorder prevents your taking the vigorous part your heart at all times prompts you to. I therefore strongly recommend it to you, the moment this very unfavourable wind changes, to remove for a few days to North-end, to resume the riding on

(¹) Cæsar Hawkins, Esq., serjeant-surgeon to the King; in 1778 created a baronet. He died in 1786.

horseback ; and I doubt not that this method, with the knowledge that I desire you will there give up your attention to your health alone, will soon enable you to come out in perfect health. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Bristol know that I have avoided sending to you, lest it should only hurry you, and that through their means and that of Dr. Addington, I have received constant accounts of the progress of your fever.

GEORGE R. ⁽¹⁾

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

[May 26, 1767.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM vastly sorry to trouble you with any thing like business, while I know you are strongly advised against it. I therefore write to acquaint your Lordship, in as few words as possible, that in a random conversation upon America and the opinions of last year, Lord Talbot rose voluntarily

(¹) Lord Chesterfield, on the 5th of May, thus writes: "Lord Chatham is still ill, and only goes abroad for an hour a day to take the air in his coach. The King has, to my certain knowledge, sent him repeated messages, desiring him not to be concerned at his confinement, for that he is resolved to support him *pour et contre tous*." And in another letter he says: "Our political world is in a situation that I never saw in my whole life. Lord Chatham has been so ill these last two months, that he has not been able (some say not willing) to do or hear of any business; and for his *sous-ministres*, they either cannot, or dare not, do any, without his directions; so that every thing is now at a stand."

and unprovoked, no question being before the House, to attack those that had voted against the right of parliament, and to lay at their doors the present rebellion in America.⁽¹⁾ His manner was so hostile towards the Chancellor and me, and sought so plainly to draw a line between those I have mentioned and the Duke of Grafton, whom he commended extravagantly, expressing his wishes that he should always remain where he so properly is, that it was impossible that his language was not premeditated, if not a concerted measure.

It occasions a vast deal of surprise ; and I have therefore thought it wrong to leave your Lordship entirely ignorant of it. Whenever your Lordship desires to be more particularly informed of it, I will attend you at the least notice ; which, however, permit me to add, I do not mean to press by this letter, till Dr. Addington gives your Lordship full liberty. I have the honour to be, with truest respect and regard,

Your Lordship's faithful and
obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.

(1) " This vermin of court reporters," says Mr. Burke, in his speech on American taxation, " when they are forced into open day upon one point, are sure to burrow in another ; but they shall have no refuge ; I will make them bolt out of all their holes. They say, that the opposition made in parliament to the stamp act at the time of its passing, encouraged the Americans to their resistance. This assertion is false. In all the papers which have loaded your table ; in all the vast crowd of verbal witnesses that appeared at your bar, not the least hint of such a cause of disturbance has ever appeared."

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, May 27, 1767.

MY LORD,

THE events that have happened in both houses, and particularly the close numbers of the House of Lords, where the Opposition have been 63 to 65 in two divisions⁽¹⁾, make me, as your Lordship may imagine, most anxious to have some conversation with your Lordship on the subject. I have not (as you will do me the justice to confess) pressed, or shown any improper impatience, in a situation which no one can feel but myself in all its extent.

(¹) During the debates on the question to be put to the judges, "Whether that part of the act passed by the governor, council, and assembly of Massachusetts Bay, which purports to be a free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion to the offenders in the late riots, is warranted by the charter of William and Mary, or null and void." In his letter to the several governors, Lord Shelburne had recommended, that a requisition should be made to the colonial assemblies for compensations to those who had been injured by the late riots. The governor's message was reluctantly, and somewhat contumaciously, taken into consideration by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay; nor did they act upon it, until the inhabitants sent express instructions to their representatives on the subject, and until they received information that the lords of the treasury in England refused to pay the sums of money voted by parliament in 1763, unless the proposed compensation was made. At length, an act to this effect was passed; but, to show the spirit of the colony, it contained a clause of indemnity to the offenders in the riots; who were thus taught to consider themselves, equally with their victims, objects of the care and attention of their legislators. — See Stedman's Hist. of the American War, vol. i. p. 50.; and Adolphus, vol. i. p. 260.

If I could be allowed but a few minutes to wait on you, it would give me great relief; for the moment is too critical for your Lordship's advice and direction not to be necessary. If, therefore, you can allow me one quarter of an hour to intrude upon you without prejudice to your health, which I rejoice to hear is in a mending way, it will greatly oblige me, who have the honour to remain, with the truest esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

[From a draught in the hand-writing of Lady Chatham.]

[May 27, 1767.]

LORD CHATHAM, still unable to write, begs leave to assure the Duke of Grafton of his best respects, and at the same time to lament that the continuation of his illness reduces him to the painful necessity of most earnestly entreating his Grace to pardon him, if he begs to be allowed to decline the honour of the visit the Duke of Grafton has so kindly proposed. Nothing can be so great an affliction to him as to find himself quite unable for a conversation, which he should otherwise be proud and happy to embrace.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, May 29, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SUFFICIENTLY expressed to your Lordship by my letter of Wednesday last, how very necessary I thought it for the well-being of the King's affairs, indeed almost for their existence, that I should be permitted to deliver some advice from you on a situation of affairs that appeared to me to be pressingly critical. Disappointed of such an interview, and thus deprived of an assistance which I never expected to have been without, to direct me in the difficulties that might arise, I thought the state of affairs too serious not to wish, as a man of honour, to apprise his Majesty of my thoughts upon them, that the King might be able to consult others of his servants, and decide what was most judicious to be done.

I found, on imparting my ideas the night before last to my Lord President, that his Lordship saw the King's affairs at least as embarrassed as I did, and that the King might find *factions united* intruding themselves upon the closet, before he might be expecting so offensive an event. We judged it thoroughly proper to lay fully our opinions before his Majesty, who would have cause most truly to blame a silence on this head, from those in his service who were in a situation to form some judgment on the present state of things. We yesterday separately laid

before the King the real state of his administration ; in one house, acting from the beginning of the session in direct contradiction to all cabinet decisions ; in the other, by the prevalence of faction, brought to such a crisis, as to carry questions in a very full house by majorities of three only, and even those made up by the votes of two of the King's brothers, and some lords brought down from their very beds.

The King was of opinion, that your Lordship's presence and advice would still reinstate and give administration some consistence again. Unfortunately, your illness deprives us of the first ; and unless your Lordship's experience and abilities can suggest any measure for bettering the state of things, and in support of your administration, all our powers and faculties having been tried, we see no possibility of serving his Majesty with effect, honour or justice to him or to the public.

It is in conjunction with my Lord President, that I have the honour of writing this to your Lordship, whom I met, by the King's orders, for that purpose ; and I believe I do not go beyond my authority when I say, his Majesty has no expectation of being relieved from this embarrassing dilemma, but by *your* counsel and advice. What I feel, in this situation, I leave your Lordship to judge ; but, disagreeable as the task is to carry the opinions of others on so delicate a subject, I am ready to undertake it, if you prefer that mode to a letter. Pray send me your commands. Indeed, my Lord, your thoughts and advice, in such a

situation, are due to the King, as well as to those who have supported to their utmost, in your absence, every view of yours. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful

and obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

P.S. We should have desired Lord Chancellor to have been with us last night; but unfortunately he was gone into the country to profit of the adjournment.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

[From a draught in the hand-writing of Lady Chatham.]

[May 29, 1767.]

LORD CHATHAM, continuing under the same inability to write which he was under the unhappy necessity of conveying to the Duke of Grafton so lately, begs again his Grace's indulgence for taking this method of repeating the same description of his health, which for the present renders business *impossible* for him.

He implores the Duke of Grafton to be persuaded that nothing less than *impossibility* prevents him from seeing the Duke of Grafton, which he so ardently desires, and entering into the fullest conversation with his Grace. At present, all he is

able to offer, in true zeal for his Majesty, is that the Duke of Grafton and Lord President may not finally judge it necessary to leave the situations they are in. The first moment health and strength enough return, Lord Chatham will humbly request permission to renew at his Majesty's feet all the sentiments of duty and most devoted attachment.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, May 30, 1767,
34 m. past 2, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

No one has more cautiously avoided writing to you than myself, during your late indisposition; but the moment is so extremely critical, that I cannot possibly delay it any longer. By the letter you received yesterday from the Duke of Grafton, you must perceive the anxiety he and the President at present labour under. The Chancellor is very much in the same situation. This is equally owing to the majority in the House of Lords, amounting on the Friday only to six, and on the Tuesday to three, though I made two of my brothers vote on both those days; and to the great coldness shown those three ministers by Lord Shelburne, whom they, as well as myself, imagine to be rather a secret enemy; the avowed enmity of Mr. Townshend; and the resolution of lieutenant-general Conway

to retire, though without any view of entering into faction.

My firmness is not dismayed by these unpleasant appearances; for, from the hour you entered into office, I have uniformly relied on your firmness to act in defiance to that hydra faction, which has never appeared to the height it now does, till within these few weeks. Though your relations, the Bedfords, and the Rockinghams are joined with intention to storm my closet, yet, if I was mean enough to submit, they own they would not join in forming an administration; therefore nothing but confusion could be obtained.

I am strongly of opinion with the answer you sent the Duke of Grafton; but, by a note I have received from him, I fear I cannot keep him above a day, unless you would see him and give him encouragement. Your duty and affection for my person, your own honour, call on you to make an effort: five minutes' conversation with you would raise his spirits, for his heart is good; mine, I thank Heaven, want no rousing: my love to my country, as well as what I owe to my own character and to my family, prompt me not to yield to faction. Be firm, and you will find me amply ready to take as active a part as the hour seems to require. Though none of my ministers stand by me, I cannot truckle.

I wish a few lines in answer, as I am to have the Duke of Grafton with me this evening; and if you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to

call at North-end on my return that evening to this place. Whilst I have sixty-five present and thirty proxies in the House of Lords ready to stand by me, besides a majority of 151 since that, in the House of Commons, against 84, though the secretary of state and the chancellor of the exchequer were in the minority, I think the game easy, if you either come out or will admit very few people.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From an imperfect draught in Lord Chatham's hand-writing.]

North End, May 30, 1767.

SIR,

PENETRATED and overwhelmed with your Majesty's letter and the boundless extent of your royal goodness, totally incapable as illness renders me, I obey your Majesty's commands, and shall beg to see the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, though hopeless that I can add weight to your Majesty's gracious wishes. Illness and affliction deprive me of the power of adding more, than to implore your Majesty to look with indulgence on this imperfect tribute of duty and devotion.

I am, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Majesty's

Most dutiful and devoted servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

May 30, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM most humbly begs leave to lay himself with all duty at the King's feet, and fearing lest he may not have rightly apprehended his Majesty's most gracious commands, humbly entreats his Majesty to permit him to say, that, seeing the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, he understands it not to be his Majesty's pleasure, that he should attend his Majesty any part of the day to-morrow. He is unhappily obliged to confess, that the honour and weight of such an audience would have been more than he could sustain, in his present extreme weakness of nerves and spirits. He begs to pour forth again the deepest sense of his Majesty's boundless condescension and goodness, and to implore that, in compassion for his state, his Majesty would be pleased to grant him some further time for recovery.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, May 30, 1767,
35 m. past 8, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

YOUR letter has given me the greatest pleasure : though I was certain no indisposition could abate your dutiful attachment to my person, or your

natural intrepidity to withstand the greatest enemy of this poor country—faction, I already look on all difficulties as overcome; for the Duke of Grafton, who came to me just after I had received it, on my acquainting him you would see him to-morrow, required no other encouragement to continue in his present situation. He instantly, with that warmth of heart he is most thoroughly possessed of, said his duty towards me could never be lessened, nor his reliance on you; that a short conversation with you would, he was certain, remove any anxiety the want of your advice might have caused.

I think it but justice to him to mention with what becoming dignity and force he vindicated you when aspersed by Lord Sandwich about ten days ago, when the whole House joined in his applause. Continue the warmth of zeal your letter so clearly expresses, and with a due exertion of punishments as well as rewards, faction will be mastered. I cannot conclude without adding, that, though numbers have been so near, every party in opposition appear down, and do not flatter themselves they shall succeed.

As I was going to seal up this letter I received your second letter, filled with the same alacrity to carry on my affairs as the first. Your seeing the Duke of Grafton will thoroughly answer every purpose I can desire: though I shall be glad when I can see you, yet your health is of too much consequence for me to wish you to come till you can

do it with safety. The letting the Duke of Grafton or the Chancellor see you when necessary will, with less fatigue to you, equally give stability and infuse resolution into my administration.

GEORGE R.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, June 2, 1767,
10 m. past 10, a. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

My sole purpose in writing is the desire of knowing whether the anxiety and hurry of the last week has not affected your health. I should have sent yesterday had I not thought a day of rest necessary, previous to your being able to give an answer.

If you have not suffered, which I flatter myself, I think with reason I may congratulate you on its being a good proof you are gaining ground.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's hand-writing.]

June 2, 1767.

SIR,

FINDING it impossible by any words to express my deep sense of your Majesty's infinite goodness

and humanity, I can only implore your Majesty will deign to receive the inadequate tribute of a heart penetrated and overwhelmed.

I grieve to be obliged to say, in answer to your Majesty's most benevolent commands, that the impressions upon my health from the late efforts have been unfavourable ; but, if possible, I will endeavour to see the Duke of Grafton again.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, June 2, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM,

THOUGH I as much as possible avoid writing to you, on account of your indisposition, I find myself, more than at any other period, necessitated to make use of that method of pointing out to you the present very unpleasant state of affairs. The Lord President and the Duke of Grafton have separately stated to me the purport of the enclosed paper ; but lest they should vary in the manner of expressing themselves, have jointly drawn this up.

The resignations pointed at are the Lord President and lieutenant-general Conway ; besides the Duke of Grafton finding it impossible to bring himself to undertake the forming a temporary administration ; so that the present one will infallibly fall into pieces in less than ten days, unless you point out the proper persons to fill up the vacancies that may arise. Indeed, Mr. Townshend

may be added to the list of those retiring, unless additional strength and ability be acquired.

Upon the whole, I earnestly call upon you to lay before me a plan, and also to speak to those you shall propose for responsible offices. You owe this to me, to your country, and also to those who have embarked in administration with you. If after this you again decline taking an active part, I shall then lie under a necessity of taking steps, that nothing but the situation I am left in could have obliged to.

GEORGE R.

[Enclosure.]

THE PRESIDENT and the Duke of Grafton, after the most serious consideration and explicit conversation in the closet, having fully urged the impracticability for them to form, in the critical circumstances of this country, a temporary administration from any collection of individuals which they should think fit to recommend to his Majesty, it becomes now essential for his Majesty, though unwillingly, to ask of the Earl of Chatham, whether he can devise any plan, by which the immediate execution of government can be carried on; for they cannot with honour make any application to any divisions of men, unapprized of his Lordship's ideas thereupon; which, with the resignations in effect made, must leave this country without any government.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the 1st of June Lord Chesterfield writes:—“I do not know what to say to you upon public matters. Things

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's hand-writing.]

[June 2, 1767.]

LORD CHATHAM, totally incapable from an increase of illness to use his pen, most humbly begs leave to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, and with unspeakable affliction again to represent to his Majesty the most unhappy and *utter disability* which his present state of health as yet continues to lay him under; and once more most humbly to implore compassion and pardon from his Majesty, for the cruel situation which still deprives him of the possibility of activity, and of proving to his Majesty the truth of an unfeigned zeal, in the present moment rendered useless.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, June 3, 1767.

THE Duke of Grafton presents his respects to Lord Chatham, and would not have failed to have

remain *in statu quo*, and nothing is done. Great changes are talked of, and I believe will happen soon, perhaps next week; but who is to be changed for whom, I do not know, though every body else does. I am apt to think that it will be a Mosaic ministry, made up *de pièces rapportés* from different connections."

waited on his Lordship this morning at eleven, according to his desire, if his Majesty had not commanded the Duke of Grafton's attendance on him at twelve: besides, the bill to restrain the East India dividends⁽¹⁾ being to be fought in the House of Lords to-day, will require the Duke of Grafton to look over the accounts delivered in. He therefore wishes Lord Chatham would allow him to have the honour of seeing him at the same hour to-morrow morning.

The Duke of Grafton had forgot to mention to Lord Chatham that having two proxies, he cannot avail himself of the honour Lord Chatham intended him. He has kept the proxy, and submits to his Lordship whether he would not think proper to put it in the hands of Lord Bristol, or some other person, as it may be of use to-day; and on a signification of Lord Chatham's wish on this head in his answer, the Duke of Grafton will then give

(1) The East India Company having proposed, at a general court, an increase of dividend, justifying the measure by the state of their finances, the ministry, considering this a dangerous delusion, calculated to renew the fatal effects of the South Sea scheme, recommended the directors not to augment the interest until their proposals were discussed in parliament. The proprietors, however, slighted the admonition, and declared a dividend for the ensuing year of twelve and a half per cent. "In consequence of this proceeding," says Mr. Adolphus, "two bills were brought into parliament; one for regulating the qualifications of voters in trading companies, the other for restraining the making of dividends by the East India Company. The latter bill rescinded the recent resolution, and restrained them from making any dividend exceeding ten per cent. This measure occasioned a spirited opposition in both houses, but was finally passed in the Lords, by a majority of fifty-nine against forty-four."

orders upon it, without Lord Chatham being at any farther trouble about it. It will give great satisfaction to the Duke of Grafton to hear that Lord Chatham is better in his health.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

St. James's Square, June 10, 1767.

MY LORD,

THE King was this day pleased to acquaint me with his royal intention of granting to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick a pension of two thousand pounds a year during pleasure, and commanded me forthwith to have it pass through the accustomed forms. I only bowed, and said I should obey; and notwithstanding the clamour I fear it will occasion in Ireland, yet as I recollect your Lordship's early wishes upon this subject, and mean ever to show my inclination to assist in every measure that can facilitate his Majesty's government, I shall be prepared against all the darts that will be levelled at me upon this occasion.

I have seen Lord Holland, who is warm in his professions for the present system. He has communicated his own wishes to me, which I will repeat at large whenever I have the honour of seeing your Lordship; but he said at the same time, whether you thought proper to gratify him or not, he should equally wish you success in your undertaking, and desired to be indebted to your Lordship

only for an earldom, and would ever acknowledge his obligations publicly and privately to your Lordship, if it was conferred upon him. I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and

most faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, June 13, 1767,
30 m. past 10, a. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

THE dry weather that has now continued a week, must undoubtedly have greatly assisted in removing the weakness arising from the long continuance of your late indisposition. I therefore wish to learn how you now find yourself, and whether you do not flatter yourself soon to be in a situation to see me ; for I know I can rely upon your zeal for my service, and your fortitude to struggle with any remains of your late disorder, whenever the times shall require your taking an active part.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

June 13, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM begs to be permitted to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's

feet, penetrated with the excess of his Majesty's goodness towards him. He is overwhelmed with affliction still to find that the continuance in extreme weakness of nerves renders it impossible for him to flatter himself with being able soon to present himself before his Majesty. He is as yet utterly incapable of the smallest effort, and can only most humbly implore the indulgence of the most gracious of sovereigns.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, June 15, 1767,
5 m. past 8, a. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

I AM sorry you continue giving so unfavourable an account of your health. I therefore take up my pen most earnestly to recommend your sending for Sir Clifton Wintringham⁽¹⁾, whose great perspicuity I have experienced, and I make no doubt you will

(¹) This eminent medical writer, the son of a physician of the same name, was appointed, in 1749, chief physician to the Duke of Cumberland, and in 1749, physician to the king. His character is thus drawn in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 34.:—"In Sir Clifton were united all those amiable virtues which adorn and dignify human nature. By a liberal education, and an intimate acquaintance with the most admired classic writers, he had acquired an elegant taste, and by a long and successful practice as a physician, great skill and judgment in his profession. In domestic life he was good-natured, affable, and endearing; in conversation polite, lively, and entertaining; in his friendships steady and affectionate." He died in 1794, at the age of eighty-four.

very shortly find the good effects of his coming to Dr. Addington's assistance. I know also the very high opinion Sir Edward Wilmot has of Sir Clifton; which will undoubtedly have no small weight with you. I have long wished to give you this advice, but now think I owe it to the good of my service, nay even to the public, not to withhold it any longer.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[In the hand-writing of Lady Chatham.]

June 15, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM most humbly begs leave to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, utterly unable to express what he feels from the most condescending and most gracious mark of his Majesty's infinite goodness, in deigning to bestow a thought upon the health of a devoted servant.

Sunk as that health still remains, may he be permitted to submit to his Majesty, that his entire confidence is placed in Dr. Addington, who gives him the strongest assurances of recovery, with proper time. He therefore ventures most humbly to implore that he may be allowed still to pursue his directions, without the intervention of another physician.

Under the deepest sense of the grace and consolation extended to him by his most gracious royal master, he prostrates himself before his Majesty's goodness, with some hope of pardon for presuming to offer most humbly at his Majesty's feet such a petition.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, June 20, 1767,
34 m. past 3, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

ICANNOT refrain congratulating you on the amendment I heard yesterday appeared in your health ; which no one takes a greater share in than myself. The very favourable appearance in the House of Lords (¹) must also be of great advantage to your spirits ; as it plainly demonstrates, that when you are able to come out, all the difficulties that have been encountered will cease. The Duke of Grafton conducts himself with great resolution as well as ability, and showed great pleasure on hearing your health improves.

GEORGE R.

(¹) The following is from the Hardwicke MSS. : — " List of the speakers in the House of Lords, June 17, on a motion for a conference with the House of Commons on the bill relating to the East India Company's dividend. *For* : Duke of Richmond, Lord Mansfield, Lord Lyttelton, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Weymouth, Lord Temple, Duke of Bedford, Lord Suffolk. *Against* : Lord Marchmont, Duke of Grafton, Lord Sandys, Lord Chancellor, Lord Stewart, Lord Wycombe (Shelburne), Lord Harwich. Not contents, 73. Contents, 52. Majority, 21. With the proxies, not contents, 98. Contents, 57. Majority, 41."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From an imperfect draught, partly in his own hand-writing and partly in that of the Countess.]

June 20, 1767.

LORD CHATHAM begs to be permitted to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, and to offer the tribute of a grateful heart, wholly unable to give expression to the feelings of veneration and devotion with which it is penetrated, by his Majesty's infinite goodness. Amendment of health would be of tenfold value to him, from his Majesty's infinite condescension in deigning to think of it; the report of which amendment is yet unfortunately not founded. Nothing on earth can so much contribute to it as the excess of his Majesty's goodness. He presumes to offer all congratulation on the favourable appearance in the House of Lords, and has the truest joy in the great ability shown by the Duke of Grafton.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Richmond Lodge, June 25, 1767,
20 m. past 6, p. m.

LORD CHATHAM,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CONWAY has declared his intention of resigning as soon as the parliament is prorogued. The Lord President's health declines

so visibly, that he cannot any longer go through the functions of his employment ⁽¹⁾; Mr. Townshend says he is willing to remain, provided stability can be obtained, but not if the administration is *patched*, as he terms it. The Duke of Grafton, though full of zeal for my service, is unwilling to trace a plan for my approbation. I therefore once more call upon you for that purpose, and with the more earnestness, as I look upon the success as certain, if you take a part; the majority in both houses being now very handsome. I am thoroughly resolved to encounter any difficulties rather than yield to faction. This is so congenial with your ideas, that I am thoroughly persuaded your feelings will force you to take an active part at this hour; which will not only give lustre and ease to the subsequent years of my reign, but will raise the reputation of your political life in times of inward faction, even above it in the late memorable war.

(¹) In a letter of the 2d of July, Lord Chesterfield says, — “Ministerial affairs are still in the same ridiculous and doubtful situation as when I wrote to you last. Your provincial secretary, Conway, quits this week, and returns to the army, for which he languished. Two lords are talked of to succeed him — Lord Egmont and Lord Hillsborough. Lord Northington quits this week; but nobody guesses who is to succeed him as president. A thousand other changes are talked of, which I neither believe nor reject.” And again, on the 9th of the same month, — “Contrary to the expectations of all mankind here, every thing still continues *in statu quo*. General Conway has been desired by the King to keep the seals till he has found a successor for him, and the lord president the same. Lord Chatham is relapsed, and worse than ever: he sees nobody, and nobody sees him.”

Such ends to be obtained would almost awaken the great men of this country of former ages, therefore must oblige you to cast aside any remains of your late indisposition.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From an imperfect draught in his own hand-writing.]

June 25, 1767.

SIR,

UNDER health so broken, as renders at present application of mind totally impossible, may I prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, and most humbly implore your Majesty's indulgence and compassion not to require of a most devoted unfortunate servant, what, in his state of weakness, he has not the power to trace with the least propriety for your Majesty's consideration?

The very little my state of nerves enables me to offer is, that if the Duke of Grafton can be prevailed upon to remain at the head of the treasury with such a chancellor of the exchequer as is agreeable to his Grace, success to your Majesty's affairs would not be doubtful; this being, in my poor opinion, the vital part, and indispensable.

Would to Heaven I was able to offer any further thoughts for your Majesty's attention, other than

that the two great offices⁽¹⁾ might be arranged in a manner the best to strengthen the Duke of Grafton. The recovery of my health, of which I have the strongest assurances with time, remote perhaps, is however as yet so little advanced as to render any activity in the present hour, most unhappily for me, an impossibility.

If it pleases God to restore health to me once again, I am all duty and devotion for your Majesty's service. * * * I am, with the most profound duty and submission, Sir, &c. ⁽²⁾

(1) The president of the council and the secretary of state.

(2) This letter corrects the mis-statement which all the historians of this period have fallen into; namely, that Lord Chatham returned merely a *verbal* answer to the King's letter, stating, that "such was his ill state of health, that his Majesty must not expect from him any further advice or assistance in any arrangements whatsoever." "The parties in opposition," adds Mr. Adolphus, "knowing these facts, entertained hopes of a speedy and total change in the cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle, anxious to prevent the effect of separate overtures to the bodies composing the opposition, was strenuous in cementing the union between the Bedford and Rockingham parties. An offer was speedily made from the Duke of Grafton to the Marquis of Rockingham; but he declined entering into any negotiation without the advice of his friends. The leaders of opposition held a meeting, to prepare necessary arrangements; but they could not agree in some essential nominations; the conference terminated abruptly, and though renewed on a subsequent day, as none would recede from their former opinions, the parties again separated. The ministry therefore retained their situations. The inflexibility thus displayed rendered it impossible for the King to employ either the Duke of Bedford or the Marquis of Rockingham; for they had refused to accept official situations separately, and could not agree on such terms

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

[July 30, 1767.]

MADAM,

As I was solely indebted to Lord Chatham's partiality and friendship, which prompted him to recommend me to the King for the lieutenancy of Ireland, I think I should be wanting in the highest degree to my benefactor, if I did not acquaint him with my having most dutifully and most humbly asked his Majesty to release me from the government of that country, who has graciously consented to accept of my resignation, and I imagine my successor will be forthwith declared. ⁽¹⁾

It is no sudden thought, Madam, no hasty resolution, that has determined me. When I was brought forward to this high employment, I had no difficulty in undertaking it, because I was promised the support of my friend's weight in the closet, and I had trusted to his advice, his judgment, and his direction to guide me in this arduous task. I was in expectation, till very lately, I could still have concerted the plan with him, that we had hinted at whilst he was in health: all my con-

as might enable them to act together. The ministry, finding that no conditions they could offer would enable them to acquire strength by a junction with their opponents, were obliged to conduct the public business unassisted."

(¹) On the 12th of August, Lord Townshend kissed hands, on being appointed the Earl of Bristol's successor.

fidence was in Lord Chatham; and therefore, should the King, from the necessity of his affairs, be compelled to change his administration, either before or during the ensuing session of parliament, what a situation must I have been in, in Dublin! Perhaps recalled with disgrace by a new ministry, or at the best compelled to solicit my return, from meeting with opposition to every scheme I suggested for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland! Then, being unable to carry on a single question for government in either house of parliament, I should consequently have proved myself disserviceable to my royal master, and have brought discredit upon my own character.

These, Madam, have been my motives. I have related them to the King; I have communicated them to his Majesty's ministers, and I will not add, what a vexation it has been to me to be under this disagreeable necessity. Permit me, Madam, to seize this opportunity of expressing the highest veneration and esteem (which is what I only share in common with the rest of the world) for your truly valuable and amiable conduct: allow me to add, that no one can be with more perfect respect or with greater truth than I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, July 31, 1767.

THE Duke of Grafton's best respects wait on Lady Chatham, and begs to inform her Ladyship, that General Conway has given him authority to say, that, though the particular situation is not fixed on, he is determined to stand forward in the House of Commons to carry on the King's business ; having been assured, that no consideration whatever could induce the Duke of Grafton to remain in his present post, in order to wait the return of Lord Chatham to the head of affairs, if the General was not the person on whom he could place his confidence in that House. The distressful state to which the Crown must have been reduced, has actuated them both to take this part, and to struggle with the difficulties that surround them. The hopes that this account may give some satisfaction to Lord Chatham, is the occasion of the trouble the Duke of Grafton gives to her Ladyship. ⁽¹⁾

He must add, that no motive weighed so much with himself, as the reflection of the just accusation he should draw on himself, if, on Lord Chatham's recovery, he should find that it proved some

(¹) In a letter of this date to Mr. Montagu, Horace Walpole says : — " At last all is subsided ; the administration will go on pretty much as it was, with Mr. Conway for part of it. The Rockinghams and the Grenvilles have bungled their own game, quarrelled, and thrown it away."

months too late to do the good, which his superiority can alone effect.

Without disturbing Lord Chatham, the Duke of Grafton entreats him only to think, that, where he cannot immediately approve, he would consider him as acting for the best, and often, as he must be in these intricate times, compelled to make the lesser evil the more eligible measure.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF
GRAFTON.

[North-end, September—, 1767.]

MY LORD,

THE interest your Grace is so good as to take in my Lord Chatham's health ⁽¹⁾ makes me trust

⁽¹⁾ Nothing, perhaps, could more forcibly prove the state of extreme weakness to which Lord Chatham was now reduced, than the following letter. His Lordship's enemies were nevertheless incessantly insinuating, that his illness was entirely *political*: —

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THOMAS
NUTHALL, ESQ.

“North-end, August 17, 1767.

“SIR,

“THE great state of weakness which my Lord feels from the continuance of his illness makes the transacting of any business so uneasy to him, that he is extremely desirous of giving to me a *general* letter of attorney, empowering me to transact all business for him. He bids me say, that he therefore wishes you would, without the smallest loss of time, prepare one in the fullest manner possible, and bring it with you, if it can any way be, in the course of this day. I hope you will be able to accomplish it, and to let me see you here, which will much oblige, Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

“HESTER CHATHAM.”

that you will excuse my giving your Grace the trouble of these few lines, to say that, he continuing extremely ill, Dr. Addington is of opinion that an immediate change of air and a journey are indispensably necessary. His state of weakness is such, that being himself totally unable to write, he hopes your Grace will allow him in this manner to take the liberty of begging your Grace to lay him with all duty at the King's feet, with his humble request, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit him to go for some time into Somersetshire, in hopes of recovery. Lord Chatham and I have enough experienced your Grace's goodness to rely that you will pardon this trouble.

I am, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, September 10, 1767.

MADAM,

THE letter I was honoured with by your Ladyship ought long ago to have had its answer, if my servant had not brought it back from North-end, where I had sent it, on my leaving London for a few days ; when it lay among other papers on my table without my knowing of it.

It was to acquaint your Ladyship, that in return to the message I was commanded by your Lady-

ship to lay before the King, his Majesty was pleased to direct me to say, that he heartily wished that Lord Chatham would take every step advisable for the recovery of his health, adding, that no one was so much interested in the success as himself. If I dared presume to take such a liberty, it would make me very happy to hear that Lord Chatham finds benefit from his journey. I have the honour to be, Madam, with the most profound respect,

Your Ladyship's most obedient

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Bath, September 25, 1767.

MADAM,

As I was obliged to send a messenger to my Lord North, who is appointed chancellor of the exchequer⁽¹⁾, I could not avoid this intrusion at

(1) "Lord Chatham's health," says Mr. Adolphus, "was now deemed irrecoverable, and, in fact, the ministry were neither benefited by his advice, nor supported by his popularity. They wanted a distinguished leader, of talents, character, and reputation, who could give efficacy to their measures, and by force of superior powers, enchain those minor pretenders, who, in the absence of such a chief, disdained submission, and embroiled the cabinet. Charles Townshend had before entertained similar views, and now projected a new administration, of which he should be the leader. He obtained for his brother, Lord Townshend, the vice-royalty of Ireland, designated Mr. Yorke for chancellor, and probably had made other appointments, when

Burton Pynsent to inquire after my Lord's health. The world will have it that his Lordship is considerably better ; but I dare not give myself the liberty of rejoicing till the news is more authentically confirmed. If your Ladyship can give me any reasonable hopes of my Lord's amendment, that information will do me more good than the waters of this place. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

his life was unexpectedly terminated on the 4th of September, he being then only in his forty-second year."—"This event renewed the difficulty of effecting a ministerial arrangement: the chancellorship of the exchequer was filled up *ad interim* by Lord Mansfield. It was offered to Lord North, who, for some reasons which are not precisely known, declined accepting it. The offer was subsequently made to Lord Barrington ; who declared his readiness to undertake the office, if a renewed application to Lord North should fail: a fresh negotiation was attempted with the Duke of Bedford, but without effect, and at length Lord North was prevailed on to accept the office. Mr. Thomas Townshend succeeded Lord North as paymaster, and Mr. Jenkinson was appointed a lord of the treasury ; Lord Northington and General Conway resigning, Lord Gower was made president of the council, Lord Weymouth secretary of state, and Lord Sandwich joint postmaster-general. These promotions indicated an accommodation between the ministry and the Bedford party, and the cabinet was further strengthened by the appointment of Lord Hillsborough to the office of secretary of state for America. The ministry, thus modelled, was called the Duke of Grafton's administration ; for although Lord Chatham still retained his place, he was incapable of transacting business."

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, Monday, October 9, 1767.

MADAM,

I CANNOT be so near Bath, without desiring to know how your Ladyship and Lord Chatham do. I did indeed wish somehow to have communicated to your Ladyship from London, an event of a personal nature. It is General Conway's resigning the emoluments of his office as secretary of state, on account of certain delicacies he felt for what passed last summer in regard to Lord Rockingham.⁽¹⁾ It has been some time in agitation, but was not communicated to me, till General Conway mentioned it, at the moment the Duke of Grafton was gone in to the King to acquaint his Majesty finally of his resolution. I must own, when it was first told me, I felt it an agreeable opening for me to do the same; and that I might by that means be freed from various delicacies, and some uneasiness in a situation in which Lord Chatham placed me, and which without his approbation I did not think myself at liberty to desert. Upon weighing it, however, I must own I saw as many objections,

(1) "You will not dislike to hear, shall you?" writes Walpole to Mr. Montagu, "that Mr. Conway does not take the appointment of secretary of state. If it grows the fashion to give up above 5,000*l.* a year, this ministry will last for ever; for I do not think the opposition will struggle for places without salaries. If my Lord Ligonier does not go to heaven, or Sir Robert Rich to the devil soon, our general will run considerably in debt; but he had better be too poor than too rich."

and what concluded me to defer such a step was, that I thought it wrong to do a thing, which however rightly intended, might have the air of experiment, without Lord Chatham's example or concurrence.

I know not how to make your Ladyship sufficient excuses for troubling you upon any subject of business ; I am afraid it is not a sufficient one to say it is an ease to my own mind, to acquaint your Ladyship of it, that if Lord Chatham should chance to hear of it, you might have the goodness to acquaint him of the motives of my conduct.

As for the course of public affairs, what regards parliament I conceive may, with common management, be carried through without difficulty. As for the court, Lord Chatham knows my opinion, as it has been unvaried since I first waited upon him at North-end. As to foreign affairs, there are many accounts which certainly do not flatter the almost universal wish of peace ; particularly what has very lately passed between the Spaniards and Portuguese in South America ; but if there should any certainty come of any such great event as a war, I shall presume to acquaint your Ladyship of it, without troubling you with too many particulars. In the mean time, I have every reason to believe nothing can so effectually keep it off, as the report of Lord Chatham's health. I have the honour to be both your Ladyship's and my Lord's most obliged and faithful humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

[From a draught in her own handwriting.]

[Bath, October —, 1767.]

MY LORD,

I BEG your Lordship will accept of a thousand acknowledgments from my Lord and myself, for your great goodness to us in the honour of your most obliging attention and kind concern for my Lord's health. I wish I could yet say that there was any material change in the state of it; but we are forbid to expect that, until my Lord can have a fit of the gout, which we are flattered will fix and bring the desired relief.

He continues under the prohibition of meddling with all business whatever, till after that event; so that I trust your Lordship will pardon me, as you have before been so good to do, for wishing not to communicate business of any sort to him. At the same time, allow me to assure your Lordship in general, how infinitely sensible my Lord is at all times to the honour of every mark of your Lordship's attention and friendship.

Permit me to add for myself, the sense I have of all your Lordship's goodness. We wish impatiently to be able to fix the day for our journey to Hayes; which as yet we have not the power to do.

I have the honour, to be, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS WALPOLE TO THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, October 30, 1767.

MY LORD,

I HAVE this evening seen Lord Camden, who expressed to me your Lordship's earnest request to be again in possession of Hayes, as of the utmost consequence to your future health and happiness. I can no longer resist such affecting motives for restoring it to your Lordship; who I desire will consider yourself as master of Hayes from this moment, and receive my ardent wishes, that any present distress may be fully conducive to your Lordship's re-establishment, as I doubt not it will be of inviolable respect and attachment with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
most humble servant,

THOMAS WALPOLE.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, October 30, 1767.

MADAM,

I TAKE it for granted that my Lord Chatham has received Mr. Walpole's letter of last post, resigning Hayes and putting his Lordship into possession. My part in this business has been extremely pain-

ful, having been witness to the distress of both parties. If this sacrifice shall prove instrumental to the recovery of Lord Chatham's health, Mr. Walpole will be well paid ; and I am afraid that nothing short of that will make him completely happy. It is impossible to describe as it deserves the pangs he felt at parting with this favourite place ; but his humanity and regard to Lord Chatham got the better of all his partiality ; the consideration of whose melancholy case prevailed beyond the power of persuasion, force, or interest.

I do assure your Ladyship I have never been more affected with any scene I have been witness to than what I felt upon this occasion, and am most sensibly touched with Mr. Walpole's singular benevolence and good nature. The applause of the world and his own conscience will be his reward.

I had the honour of seeing his Majesty this morning, and I beg your Ladyship would inform Lord Chatham, that his sentiments towards his Lordship are as kind and gracious as even myself can wish. He desires his Lordship would repose himself in an entire confidence that he will not be called upon, till his own perfect recovery shall bring him forth, and that in the mean time his Majesty wishes he would pursue his own course for the recovery of his health ; admit all visits, and see all persons that may contribute to his ease, pleasure, or amusement. This I am commissioned and even commanded to say from his Majesty ; who

has, during the whole course of Lord Chatham's illness, to my knowledge, behaved with the same tenderness and regard that he now expresses towards him. I have the honour to be, with the truest regard and esteem,

Your Ladyship's most obedient,
faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
THOMAS WALPOLE.

[From a draught in the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

November 1, 1767.

SIR,

No letter ever conveyed so essential a proof of the kindest friendship and goodness, as that which I had the honour to receive from you this morning. Was I better able to write, than from my present state of weakness I am, I could not find words to express how deeply I feel the high and affecting obligation you have conferred upon me, in restoring Hayes, and with it the best chance of my recovery by an air which so long agreed with me.

The warmest and most affectionate gratitude must ever be inseparable from the remembrance of a favour, which sentiments generous as yours could alone have granted. I have taken the liberty to send to Hayes to see what rooms are

actually habitable, wishing to avail myself of that air as immediately as possible.

I beg to assure you, Sir, that nothing can equal the sentiments of the most distinguished esteem and unalterable attachment with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your ever obliged
and affectionately devoted,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

London, Sunday night, December 13, 1767.

MADAM,

THE importance of a conversation I have had with the Duke of Grafton makes it absolutely necessary for me to trouble your Ladyship with some account of it. You will, I hope, be so good as to attribute the liberty I take to that as well as my inviolable attachment to Lord Chatham, and not to your goodness in answering so very obligingly on some former occasions. Your Ladyship will excuse me if my letter proves a long one ; as to avoid any misrepresentation, I choose not to omit in my relating it any circumstance that may throw light on the substantial part of what passed.

On Friday night, after council, the Duke of Grafton called me aside, to tell me “ that he did not choose to take a step of great consequence as to administration, without a communication first with me, particularly so far as might regard the situation I filled, or indulge more than a thought concerning it, without endeavouring first to know what my feelings would be, in case it should happen. In the distressing situation he found himself embarked, feeling himself bound from his office, since Lord Chatham’s illness, to take the lead, and wishing the best for the King’s affairs, he would esteem himself the most culpable of men, if an opening could be made for any great body of men to come into administration, and faction be by that means broke into, if he did not forward it; having received openings from different parties, though they were really as yet rather glimmerings than openings, he wished to learn what were my feelings, in case it was found necessary or eligible to divide my present department. That I might have heard it was a thing in agitation in August last, when there were so many different schemes about General Conway : it was then in idea, that I should go to the northern department, and General Conway hold one part of mine with the ordnance ; but the attorney-general was consulted upon it, who was of opinion that no member of the House could hold it, on account of its being a split place under the act ; that he must at the same time say, it had ever been his opinion it should be

separated ; that he had declared it a hundred times to the chancellor and to General Conway ; that he had told the latter expressly, that he could not go on with it as it was, before Lord Hertford and Mr. Walpole, at a meeting they had last summer to persuade General Conway to continue ; that he begged and beseeched me not to think it was the least personal towards me, for were a Solomon in the situation he should be of the same opinion, that he could not go through it : when General Conway held it in a less extensive manner, he was strongly of opinion for a third secretary for America ; he therefore desired I would attribute it to no such motive."

I told his Grace in answer, that as I had been in a habit of talking to his Grace very unreservedly about myself, he knew so well my motives for engaging or continuing in this system, that I need not repeat them. As to what passed in August, I was a total stranger to it, which might well be, since I never heard the least of what was carrying on or projected since Lord Chatham's illness, except what *unavoidably* occurred in the course of my own office ; nor had I to this moment the least suspicion, that any change respecting the southern department was ever the least in agitation, or so much as thought of by his Grace. As to what he mentioned, I had no objection of talking further to him whenever he pleased : I only for curiosity desired to know, whether any American event had

given rise to this new opinion ; for I presumed it was so far new, as to have been conceived since the forming the present administration, else it would certainly have been urged by him at that time, as by far the properest.

The Duke answered, that it was no event whatever, nor nothing personal towards me ; that, on the contrary, he thought the business had been very sufficiently and ably managed, and for that reason he very much wished I should remain at the head of that part ; but it was his decided opinion that it ought to be divided, and so strongly so, that no consideration whatever should make him continue at the head of the treasury, if it was not. There was no saying what he would do, engaged as he was in the present general election, till that was over ; but the first convenient opportunity either he or they, whoever it was possessed it in that extent, should leave the King's service. As to its occurring to him when the system set out, he really professed it did not, to the degree it does at present ; besides, Lord Chatham was not then in the situation he unhappily found himself at present. No one man, he said, could go through the office properly ; that he did not receive till the day before some papers (not material) from New York, received at the office on the third of October.

I told him, as to that, it was the affair of an under secretary, not mine ; that it was very wrong, and I must suppose it owing to his Grace's having

been out of town, or supposed to be so, as they were in general very punctual ; but that I was very happy that no real evil had happened to the King's affairs or to the public, while I had the care of that quarter of the world, but that it had been reduced in the main to some degree of order and obedience to parliamentary authority, from a very different state in which I found it—a degree of success that I could not attribute to my own ability, but to good luck alone ; that as to the rest, I could not help observing to his Grace, that had I been in his situation and he in mine, and supposing myself to have been of his Grace's opinion as to the point in question, that I should most certainly have chosen to have communicated it to the person whom it regarded, preferably to the several persons to whom his Grace had mentioned it, or at least have avowed and communicated it at the same time. He said that would have been more agreeable to him, but that he was obliged to consider the going on of the King's affairs.

We agreed to defer talking further of it till the next day, when the council was to meet for the King's signing the Irish bills at the Queen's house, and I then told the Duke of Grafton exactly what is contained in the first part of the letter I have the honour to enclose to your Ladyship, as far as regards my continuing in my present office, with America separated from it : but as that did not come up to his Grace's idea, I was obliged to write to him the letter of which the enclosed is a copy.

The Duke of Grafton's idea was, that I should be secretary for America ; for if the Duke of Bedford's friends and not Lord Rockingham's, should be the party that is taken in, it would be impossible, in his idea or in the Chancellor's, he was sure, to place any of the Bedfords there, on account of the difference of principles ; besides, he was pleased to repeat in very obliging terms what he had said before as to its going very well at present under me, and for that reason he did not wish to alter it.

Your Ladyship sees the delicacy of this situation. My sincere and only wish is to do what is agreeable to Lord Chatham, from not so much a motive of private regard as a thorough conviction that nothing but his compass and extent of mind can save this country from some great confusion. My reason for not choosing the new department proposed is no dislike to the office, but that I think the general system affected by it : but if Lord Chatham desires I should do it, I am very ready to take the part he wishes, notwithstanding my own earnest inclinations. Lord Chatham, if he enters at all into the situation, must carry me very strongly to miss no proper opportunity of declining office altogether, where I do not see my way, and have little or nothing to direct my conduct.

Your Ladyship will judge so much better than I can of the proper time for communicating the contents of this letter to Lord Chatham when he will be least inconvenienced by it, that I flatter myself it will help to plead my excuse for the

trouble of it, and that whenever he shall have bestowed a moment's attention on it, he will not withhold his opinion on an occasion where I should wish so much to have it for my guide. I wish to avoid idle speculation at this time, when every body is attentive to the least thing that passes. I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect and esteem,

Your Ladyship's most obliged
and most faithful humble servant,
SHELBURNE.

[Enclosure.]

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE DUKE OF
GRAFTON.

December 13, 1767.

MY LORD,

As your Grace wished to know my thoughts as soon as possible upon the point we talked of yesterday, of dividing the southern department as it now stands into two offices, I take the first opportunity of sending them to you.

I think it is a pity this thing had not been thought of at first, when Lord Chatham's thoughts on so important a subject might have been known. I am afraid, in his present situation, we cannot have his assistance; but as your Grace is so thoroughly convinced it is a measure necessary and useful to the King's affairs, my duty to his Majesty must produce in me a most cheerful ac-

quiescence. By this your Grace, however, understands me to mean my continuing in my present office, with every thing regarding America separated from it; but as to the new office your Grace proposes, upon the best consideration I have been able to give it since your Grace first mentioned it to me last Friday night, I see so many difficulties in the framing and modelling any such new office, that I cannot think of taking it upon me.

I am, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

[From a rough draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

[Hayes, December —, 1767.]

HAVING received the honour of your Lordship's letter, I have not lost a moment in communicating the contents to my Lord, who is still much indisposed. The continuation of his illness disabling him from business, lays him under the necessity of begging to be dispensed by your Lordship from offering a particular opinion upon the matter proposed, wishing to leave entirely to your Lordship's own judgment and decision the arrangement of your own department. If, as your letter to the Duke of Grafton expresses, the thing has your Lordship's cheerful acquiescence, my Lord cannot possibly have any objection against it.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Bromley⁽¹⁾, Tuesday morning,
[December 22, 1767.]

MADAM,

I RODE thus far, thinking it my duty to pay my respects to your Ladyship, before I went into Wiltshire for the holidays, in order to make my excuses to you, for having given you so much trouble. It may be proper, just to ac-

(¹) In October, when Mr. Walpole consented to gratify Lord Chatham's desire of becoming again the possessor of Hayes, the house was uninhabitable, owing to the extensive alterations which were going on; and it was only on the day previous to the date of this letter that Lord Chatham was enabled to reside there. Not satisfied with giving up the possession of a place to which he was devotedly attached, Mr. Walpole, as soon as he became aware that it was thought necessary for the recovery of Lord Chatham's health, continued as unremitting in his exertions to hasten the progress of the works, as if he still had a personal interest in their completion. He wrote to Lady Chatham almost daily, giving her accounts of the advances made, and, on the 17th of December, thus concludes his correspondence on the subject:—"I begin to be eased of much vexation by the proximity of Lord Chatham's arrival; and if it should answer all our wishes, I shall indeed feel no regret at having parted with Hayes, wishing from my heart it may be to his Lordship a longeval testimony of my faithful attachment." And Lord Camden, in a letter to the Countess, written on the 24th, says, "Give me leave to rejoice upon the return of Lord Chatham to Hayes. I hope the air of our county will have the glory of restoring my Lord to his health; and, by that means, raise the price of our land to a hundred years' purchase."

quaint Lord Chatham, as he knows what passed before, that the first time I saw the Duke of Grafton after the letter I sent your Ladyship a copy of, I desired he would understand the word *acquiescence* in its strict sense, and that solely on account of Lord Chatham, but not the least degree of *conviction*, as I foresaw many evils from what was proposed. Since that, I have been acquainted of nothing, till yesterday that the Duke of Grafton told me what was fixed on Friday last ; which is exactly the same as is in all the newspapers ; which takes place in part only till after Christmas, and in no part has been, happily for me, either confided or communicated to me.

I am persuaded, when Lord Chatham has either time or health to return to any business, his intuition and knowledge of human nature will make it easy for him to distinguish between the secret and the real views of any of the parties concerned, if it be necessary ; as well as of the effects which the steps taken in his absence are most likely to produce.

There is but one thing which I wish to say, in apology for my having made so much use of Lord Chatham's name ; that it is not thinking my attachment of any consequence to him, as I must be sensible that there are twenty unexceptionable people that would be equally useful to his views, in any situation his kindness to me may make him wish for me ; but it is solely on my own account, and my wishing to direct my conduct the best

for the public. As soon as I return to London, which will be in about ten days, I will attempt to wait on your Ladyship. I am your Ladyship's
most obliged servant,

SHELBURNE.⁽¹⁾

JUNIUS⁽²⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

*(Private and secret : to be opened
by Lord Chatham only.)*

London, January 2, 1768.

MY LORD,

IF I were to give way to the sentiments of respect and veneration which I have always entertained for

(1) "En nova progenies!" writes Lord Chesterfield, on the 27th of December; "the outlines of a new ministry are now declared, but they are not yet quite filled up: it was formed by the Duke of Bedford. Lord Gower is made president of the council, Lord Sandwich post-master, Lord Hillsborough secretary of state for America only, Mr. Rigby vice-treasurer of Ireland. General Conway is to keep the seals a fortnight longer, and then to surrender them to Lord Weymouth. Lord Chatham seems to be out of the question, and is at his repurchased house at Hayes, where he will not see a mortal. It is yet uncertain whether Lord Shelburne is to keep his place; if not, Lord Sandwich, they say, is to succeed him. All the Rockingham people are absolutely excluded. Many more changes must necessarily be; but no more are yet declared. It seems to be a resolution taken by somebody, that ministries are to be annual." Early in January, the Earl of Shelburne was removed from his office, and the Earl of Hillsborough and Lord Weymouth were appointed the two principal secretaries of state.

(2) This is the first of two private letters addressed to Lord Chatham by this distinguished writer. Fac-similes of the autographs of both will be given in the fourth volume.

your character, or to the warmth of my attachment to your person, I should write a longer letter than your Lordship would have time or inclination to read. But the information which I am going to lay before you, will, I hope, make a short one not unworthy your attention. I have an opportunity of knowing something, and you may depend on my veracity.

During your absence from administration, it is well known that not one of the ministers has either adhered to you with firmness, or supported, with any degree of steadiness, those principles, on which you engaged in the King's service. From being their Idol at first, their veneration for you has gradually diminished, until at last they have absolutely set you at defiance.

The Chancellor, on whom you had particular reasons to rely, has played a sort of fast and loose game, and spoken of your Lordship with submission or indifference, according to the reports he heard of your health ; nor has he altered his language until he found you were really returning to town.

Many circumstances must have made it impossible for you to depend much upon Lord Shelburne or his friends ; besides that, from his youth and want of knowledge, he was hardly of weight, by himself, to maintain any character in the cabinet. The best of him is, perhaps, that he has not acted with greater insincerity to your Lordship than to former connections.

Lord Northington's conduct and character need

no observation. A singularity of manners, added to a perpetual affectation of discontent, has given him an excuse for declining all share in the support of government, and at last conducted him to his great object, a very high title, considering the species of his merit, and an opulent retreat. Your Lordship is best able to judge of what may be expected from this nobleman's gratitude.

Mr. Conway, as your Lordship knows by experience, is every thing to every body, as long as by such conduct he can maintain his ground. We have seen him, in one day, the humble prostrate admirer of Lord Chatham; the dearest friend of Rockingham and Richmond; fully sensible of the weight of the Duke of Bedford's party; no irreconcilable enemy to Lord Bute; and, at the same time, very ready to acknowledge Mr. Grenville's merit as a financier. Lord Hertford is a little more explicit than his brother, and has taken every opportunity of treating your Lordship's name with indignity.

But these are facts of little moment. The most considerable remains. It is understood by the public that the plan of introducing the Duke of Bedford's friends entirely belongs to the Duke of Grafton, with the secret concurrence, perhaps, of Lord Bute, but certainly without your Lordship's consent, if not absolutely against your advice. It is also understood, that if you should exert your influence with the King to overturn this plan, the Duke of Grafton will be strong enough, with his

new friends, to defeat any attempt of that kind; or if he should not, your Lordship will easily judge to what quarter his Grace will apply for assistance.

My Lord, the man who presumes to give your Lordship these hints, admires your character without servility, and is convinced that, if this country can be saved, it must be saved by Lord Chatham's spirit, by Lord Chatham's abilities. ⁽¹⁾

To the Earl of Chatham,
&c. &c. &c. &c.
at Hayes, near Bromley, Kent.

(1) It may be remarked, that this panegyric on Lord Chatham adds considerable weight to an opinion entertained by many persons; namely, that some of the Miscellaneous Letters inserted in Woodfall's edition of Junius are erroneously attributed to that distinguished writer. The five letters written on the 28th of April, the 28th of May, the 24th of June, and the 19th of December, 1767, and that on the 16th of February, 1768, under the signatures of Poplicola, Anti-Sejanus Junior, Downright, &c., are conceived in a spirit of bitter animosity to that nobleman; and it is incredible, that the same individual should anonymously and *privately* address a minister in terms expressive of "respect and veneration," at the very time that he was endeavouring to destroy that minister's influence, by *publicly* ridiculing his infirmities, and giving to the world anonymous libels on his character and conduct.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES GRENVILLE
TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

January 16, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I DELIVERED your message this morning to Lord Botetourt⁽¹⁾; who appeared to receive it with tranquillity. His answer upon the spot was, that since this was the case, he intended to ask an audience to-morrow, and then mentioned something about a commission to be procured in the most respectable manner possible to Lord Chatham. The substance of what I related to him from you was as follows: that you were convinced Lord Chatham would not consent to put the seal to the Warmly company's⁽²⁾ grant, without first hearing the parties who opposed it; that the state of his health made it impossible for him to appoint that hearing at present; and, under these circumstances, you could not ven-

(¹) Formerly Norborne Berkeley, member for Gloucestershire, and a groom of the bedchamber. He was, it will be remembered, Lord Talbot's second in the ridiculous duel with Wilkes, at Bagshot, by moonlight in October, 1762. See Vol. II. p. 192. Junius describes him as "a cringing, bowing, fawning, sword-bearing courtier, who had ruined himself by an enterprize, which would have ruined thousands had it succeeded." In the August following, his Lordship was appointed governor of Virginia, in the room of Sir Jeffrey Amherst; and died there in 1770.

(²) The extensive works in the hamlet of Warmly, Gloucestershire, for converting copper into brass, were at this time carried on at the expense of several gentlemen of the county, who disposed of them to a company in Bristol.

ture to trouble him with any thing upon the subject ; therefore, Lord Botetourt must be left to take whatever measures he may think best for his own satisfaction. This was in substance what I mentioned ; I believe not materially differing from your desires. Believe me to be ever

Yours most affectionately,

J. GRENVILLE.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES GRENVILLE
TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Wednesday, two o'clock,
January 20, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I WRITE to you this morning instead of calling upon you, because I propose to see you to-morrow, after receiving a few words from you in answer to this letter, upon a matter of as much delicacy and difficulty, both to Lord Chatham, yourself, and to every friend of his, as perhaps ever occurred to any people in a public situation.

Lord Botetourt is proceeding with haste to carry his purposes into execution. What they are, or from what motives, I cannot pretend to guess ; but they seem to me to be the growth of his own passions, or particular interests. On Sunday he had his intended audience of the King ; and in the evening he came to my house to inform me of it. He acquainted me, that after having mentioned

what he called his deplorable situation, he apprized the King of his endeavours to procure a hearing upon the caveats entered against his grant at Lord Chatham's office; of the necessity there was for immediate dispatch, and for that purpose to put the seals into commission, or other hands, for the doing justice without delay to him. If that could not now be done by his Majesty consistently with his affairs, his Lordship told the King he must apply to the House of Lords for redress; and in the conclusion delivered two papers into the King's hands, containing the motions which he intended to make, upon laying the state of his case before that House. The King's reply to him was, that he, Lord Boteourt could not expect an answer from him at that time.

Yesterday, in the evening, after eight o'clock, I was desired by the Duke of Grafton to meet him at the Lord Chancellor's in Lincoln's-inn-fields. The Duke had just received a letter from Lord Boteourt, giving him notice of his intentions to move the House of Lords this day for a summons of the Lords to hear a matter of justice and a complaint against the Earl of Chatham for delay in his office. An answer to this letter was drawn up by Lord Camden and the Duke. It was framed to demand farther time for the King to consult his ministers, who had not yet had a possible opportunity to do it. It pressed his duty and respect to the King, who had not hitherto given him any answer to his application, &c. &c.

Thus the matter stands at this instant. What the result of their letter has been I do not know. In the mean time, the question is, what is best to do, or what can be done? There appeared no means of apprizing my Lord Chatham of this situation, but by the King's commands through his ministers : at least I could point out no other method ; relying upon your peremptory refusal, for the reasons you mentioned, to undertake it yourself, and the extreme dislike you expressed to my attempting it, for the same reasons.

In regard to the other, there was no possible way to prevent a public proceeding from taking place, but the obtaining Lord Chatham's consent to a temporary commission, like that which the Duke of Bedford had when he was at Paris for the late peace, and such as the Lord Privy Seal had at the peace of Utrecht, and such as many other great civil officers and others have procured in times of accidental illness or absence. The Duke of Grafton has an insuperable dislike to be the channel of conveying, in any shape, the King's commands about the seals to Lord Chatham, if that should become indispensable, and will not do it without Lord Chatham's previous consent to any measure about them. He dreads unjust and malicious constructions from the world, if the expedient should be refused. From what you told me, and from what may happen, I could give no assurances nor expectations one way or the other ; that is to say, whether the expedient would be ac-

cepted or not. As to the motion in the House of Lords, there is no difficulty about the rejecting it; but the consequences remain, and take place in a multitude of respects.

This is too large a field for me to enter upon at present. I write only to submit to your consideration, whether you will still persist in preserving an entire silence to Lord Chatham upon this matter. I will only add, that I do not believe the present event, strange as it is, to be the result of any intrigue or particular contrivance of that sort. Certain I am, that the Duke of Grafton and the rest of Lord Chatham's friends are as honourably and as justly free from every imputation about it, as they are innocent of the knowledge. I should mention Lord Shelburne's true regards likewise; but let me hear a word from you, and whether you will see me to-morrow morning. In the mean time, consult for the best, and have every comfort. I am ever

Most affectionately yours,

J. GRENVILLE.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE JAMES GRENVILLE.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Wednesday evening, half-past seven,
January 20, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,

URGED by the contents of your letter to do what the situation of my Lord's health rendered most

improper, I have mentioned to him the hearing so strongly pressed by my Lord Botetourt. The answer is (what you must have foreseen), that his state of health makes a hearing at present impossible, nor is it in his power to fix any given time for it. In this situation, he fears it cannot be for the King's service he should continue long to hold the privy seal. It will be proper (if you will be so good as to do it) to mention this to the Duke of Grafton and the Lord Chancellor ; and may I beg you will be very precise in the words of the answer.

Believe me ever, &c.,

H. CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, January 21, 1768.

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. JAMES GRENVILLE having just left me, after having communicated a message from your Lordship, contained in an answer to a letter he had written without the knowledge of Lord Chancellor or of myself, it puts me under the necessity of troubling your Lordship with this letter. My first business must be to assure your Lordship, that the hopes and expectations of your return to the head of affairs were never of more importance to the King's service than at this moment ; and consequently your holding the office you are in is of no

less necessity. I will next add to that you owe to his Majesty and the public, what right those who have remained in the King's service have to claim it from your Lordship, and particularly myself, who came and remained in my present office solely at your instigation, and who have gone through difficulties inexpressible, prompted to it by my zeal for the King's service, and thinking that it might be the means of furnishing again to your Lordship the opening of serving your King and country with the lustre you have done.

After having expressed the obligation (the word is not too strong) you are really under to us all, as well as the service that the King may and does expect from your Lordship's recovery, I would suggest to your Lordship an expedient, as natural as it has been usual, to remove the difficulty which the peculiar character of the noble lord who presses his grant seems to make necessary. For, on one hand, no persuasion has weight with him, and if threats were added, he is of a temper more likely to add it to his complaint, than to drop from thence his resolution; on the other, I dread alike the bankruptcy of the company he is engaged in; and when, if it should happen, as certainly as falsely, the illnatured clamour of the world will lay their ruin to the grant's having been delayed and not heard before the privy seal.

When the Bishop of Bristol was absent long, for the peace of Utrecht, there was a commission of clerks of the council, &c. to hold the privy seal, though

he enjoyed the title, and signed the treaty under the name and in full possession of his office. The same was done when the Duke of Bedford went to Paris; and I am confident, if the office was searched, twenty other precedents, if they were wanted, might be found.

Thus, my dear Lord, might this intricate matter be easily unravelled; the grant of this unreasonable Lord heard by the assessors these commissioners would call in; the hope of the public of seeing your Lordship return to the head of affairs not disappointed; the only flattering side which has given me courage to surmount so many difficulties still assisting me to persevere; and lastly his Majesty continue to hope that he may be aided by your Lordship's counsels, certain to add glory to the King's reign and dignity to his government. These, my dear Lord, I may venture to assert, from the truest knowledge, are also his Majesty's wishes. They are too great for you to resist, considering from what different quarters they spring, unless your own judgment can suggest any more eligible expedient, and such an one as may be capable to answer these purposes. I have the honour to be, with the most sincere and perfect respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and faithful servant,

GRAFTON.

P. S. — Since writing the above, I have had an audience of his Majesty, who, on hearing the

purport of my letter, commands me to say that he intends to send your Lordship, in his own hand, the most gracious expressions of his entire concurrence in our sentiments. His Majesty farther added, that, notwithstanding the commission, your Lordship continued privy seal to all intents and purposes whatever.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, January 22, 1768.

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. JAMES GRENVILLE has communicated to me your Lordship's answer to his letter; which was written without the knowledge or privy either of the Duke of Grafton or myself; and this communication has made it necessary for me to give your Lordship this trouble, which I do most unwillingly.

It is impossible to describe how much we have been embarrassed by Lord Botetourt's unreasonable proceeding. He had an audience of the King on Sunday, and the Tuesday following gave notice to the Duke of Grafton that he should move the House of Lords next day; which was the first notice he gave the Duke of his intention, and without even waiting for the King's answer. Your Lordship may easily imagine how this rapid proceeding affected the Duke of Grafton and myself: we met that night, and wrote a letter to his Lord-

ship to put off his motion for a few days ; which was obtained with great difficulty. It is in vain to tell him that he is suing for a favour ; that the delay hitherto has been trifling ; that the House of Lords have no right to interfere ; that if his company are in doubtful circumstances, the very mention will make them bankrupt. His answer to this and every thing else is, that he and his friends in that undertaking are upon the brink of ruin, and that neither private nor public considerations shall make him change his resolution.

In this state of things, my dear Lord, what is to be done ? The motion must not be made : for though it is easy enough to negative that, yet the clamour will remain ; and if, indeed, the company is ruined, all the interested persons, and all the malignant enemies to your Lordship, will impute that calamity to this delay, and call it a denial of justice. Is there, my dear Lord, any expedient left but to put the seals into commission for this purpose ? It has been done before in the Duke of Bedford's and the Bishop of Bristol's case, while they were abroad. This will answer every difficulty, and will neither displace nor dishonour your Lordship.

And whereas your Lordship fears that it cannot be for the King's service that you should continue long to hold the seals, give me leave to say, that I am persuaded the King's service cannot suffer so much from any domestic event as from your Lordship's resignation of them. Indeed, my dear Lord, the whole administration of government depends

upon your continuance ; and I do think the King, the public, and your friends, have a claim upon you to remain. Therefore, I would entreat your Lordship to submit to this expedient, as the only method left, and permit us to wait patiently for that happy day which will restore your Lordship to government and your friends. I am, my dear Lord, with the truest attachment and the warmest zeal,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF
GRAFTON.

Hayes, January 23, 1768.

MY LORD,

THE gout not fixing, Lord Chatham is so extremely ill and weak, that he is under an absolute necessity of begging your Grace to permit him, under this most unfortunate circumstance, to acknowledge by my hand all your Grace's goodness and friendship ; and in this situation being equal but to a very few words, he desires only to say, with regard to the privy seal, that as he can have nothing so much at heart as the King's pleasure and what is judged to be most for his Majesty's service, he is all obedience with respect to the commission. The Duke of Grafton is persuaded, he trusts, how much his Grace's wishes ever weigh with him.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

[From a draught in her own handwriting.]

Hayes, January 23, 1768.

MY LORD,

THE state of extreme weakness and illness in which my Lord finds himself from the gout not being fixed, obliges him to beg leave of your Lordship, to acknowledge by my hand the honour of your most obliging letter ; and being from his present situation unable to say more than a few words, desires, with respect to the privy seal, to express to your Lordship, as he has done to the Duke of Grafton, that having nothing so much at heart as the King's most gracious pleasure and what is judged to be most for his Majesty's service, he is all obedience with respect to a commission.

Your Lordship, he is convinced, will not doubt of the manner in which he feels all the goodness and friendship with which you honour him, and will allow him to hope that you will excuse, from your knowledge of the state of his health, the shortness of this present answer, and assure yourself of his affectionate regard.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

H. CHATHAM.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, January 23, 1768.

LORD CHATHAM,

THE Duke of Grafton communicated to me yesterday the letter he proposed sending to you on the unreasonable anxiety of a lord concerned in the Warmly charter. I think it proper on this occasion briefly to mention this affair. I have, in conjunction with the Chancellor and Duke of Grafton, staved off the having you pressed on this subject as long as possible, knowing that you are apprized that nothing less than ruin will befall the persons engaged in this copper-work unless almost immediately possessed of the charters, and thinking that would stimulate you to give them as speedy a hearing as your health would permit; but as there is no means of keeping them any longer at rest, I wish you would take such steps as have been not unusual, to conclude this unpleasant business.

I am thoroughly convinced of the utility you are of to my service; for though confined to your house, your name has been sufficient to enable my administration to proceed. I therefore, in the most earnest manner, call on you to continue in your employment. Indeed, my conduct towards you since your entering into my service gives me a double right to expect this of you, as well as what you owe your country and those who entered into my service in conjunction with you, and in particular the two above mentioned ministers.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, January 23, 1768.

LORD CHATHAM begs to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet, and humbly to entreat his Majesty, in his great benignity and goodness, to pardon his servant presuming to employ another's hand to express to his Majesty his obedience and submission to his Majesty's most gracious commands, extreme weakness and illness rendering it totally impossible for him to use his pen.

Understanding last night, by a letter from the Duke of Grafton, your Majesty's most gracious pleasure with regard to a disabled and, as he fears, useless servant, he acquainted his Grace with his humble acquiescence to the expedient proposed, under your Majesty's most gracious approbation. He has only to implore that your Majesty, in your great compassion, will deign to receive his humblest assurances of unfeigned zeal for your Majesty's service. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) The following notice appeared in the London Gazette:—
“Whitehall, February 2, 1768. The King has been pleased to issue his commission under the great seal, authorising and empowering Richard Sutton, William Blair, and William Fraser, esquires, or any two of them, to execute the office of keeper of his Majesty's privy seal for and during the space and term of six weeks, determinable, nevertheless, at his Majesty's pleasure;

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, February 18, 1768.

MY DEAR LORD,

I WAS last night at Lord Northington's with the Earl of Shelburne (the Duke of Grafton being too ill to be present), and we are all of opinion, that if the two precedents of the Bishop of Bristol and the Duke of Bedford are not sufficient to satisfy your Lordship that you can receive the seal again without requalifying, no recital whatsoever can vary the cases, the doubt being whether a commission (let the form be what it will) does not determine the office ; for if the present commission has vacated your Lordship's, it is clear that those other offices are equally vacated by the other commissions : and, indeed, if the matter was to be looked into with legal nicety, this would possibly be the consequence ; at least I dare not give a clear opinion to the contrary.

Nor do we conceive that, if the present commission was out of the case, there could be a deputation *pro hac vice* to hear your caveats, your Lordship continuing privy seal, unless the precedents above mentioned have determined the question ;

and also to grant, during his Majesty's pleasure, to the right honourable William, Earl of Chatham, the said office of keeper of his Majesty's privy seal, from and after the term of six weeks, or other sooner determination of the said commission."

which is more than I will venture either way to decide. In this light, the present commission has already determined the office : and this cannot be so done away, but that it must always remain an evidence upon record, that the office was determined, though it should be immediately revoked and cancelled : so that, upon the best consideration, we dare not advise the expedient suggested by your Lordship, because it is subject to the very same doubts which your Lordship has conceived upon the present commission ; but we think the safest method is to take the office back as a new grant. This I am sensible is attended with difficulties, though I should hope not insurmountable.

The necessity of qualifying at church or sessions is not so pressing as your Lordship seemed to apprehend : for, upon looking into the acts of 1 Geo. 1. and 25 Car. 2., I find that no other penalty is inflicted upon the party who *neglects* or *refuses*, but the loss of the place itself ; and the high penalties fall only upon the person who continues to act after such neglect and refusal beyond the time ; so that your Lordship is perfectly safe till the last moment of the time.

Let me add to this, that an indemnity bill constantly passes every session of parliament to enlarge the time, and there has not been an instance in my memory of one single prosecution against any man for not qualifying ; besides which, sickness is so clear an excuse for the *neglect* or *refusal*, if an omission for such a cause can in law be called

either (which I am most clear it cannot), that I am persuaded the parliament would indemnify any man living who could allege such a reason for his omission. At all events, your Lordship will be most perfectly secure till the time is elapsed.

Now, my dear Lord, if you can be satisfied for the present that you run no hazard, there is no other difficulty remaining but the oath of office, which may be administered to your Lordship by the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, and myself, at Hayes. Is this such an invincible obstacle as to deprive the King, the public, and your friends, of your assistance? The consequence may be fatal! I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect and attachment,

Your most obliged

friend and servant,

CAMDEN.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

Hayes, February 18, 1768.

MY LORD,

LORD CHATHAM trusts he shall be forgiven by your Lordship for employing my hand to answer the honour of your Lordship's letter. He commissions me to say, that having considered the very great difficulties relating to the privy seal, he thinks that if your Lordship continues, as yesterday, to be

of opinion that the precedents of the Bishop of Bristol and the Duke of Bedford may be relied on, it may be best, upon the whole, to rest the matter there. He is grieved to occasion so much trouble to his friends, and wishes he could think that he might ever be of the smallest use to his Majesty's service.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, March 20, 1768. ⁽¹⁾

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE dispatched a messenger to-night to inform your Lordship that I shall have the honour to attend you to-morrow with the proper number of privy counsellors, and, the better to prepare your Lordship for our reception, send you their names : — Lord Shelburne, Mr. J. Grenville, Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, Lord Bristol, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, and myself.

(1) 'At this time, all England was agitated by the tumults incident to a general election, but particularly London and Middlesex, on account of the re-appearance of John Wilkes. "He quitted England, says Mr. Adolphus, under circumstances so disgraceful, that his offer to represent the metropolis, or the county which includes the metropolis, was an incalculable effort of impudence, while the support he received seems to have flowed from an unprecedented source of popular delusion. He declared himself a candidate for the city, and as the outlawry was still in full force, to prevent his being apprehended, he wrote to the solicitor of the treasury, pledging his honour as a gentleman, that he would personally appear in the court of

My dear Lord, I shall not eat, drink, or sleep in comfort, till I see your Lordship in full repos-

King's Bench on the first day of the ensuing term. He was not chosen for London; but the populace, sympathising in his disappointment, and anxious to show their zeal in his cause, took the horses from his carriage, and drew it through the city. He immediately presented himself a candidate for Middlesex, and was returned by a large majority. The mob testified not only their joy, but their resentment, by breaking the windows of Lord Bute's house, and of the Mansion House; the air resounded with the cry of 'Wilkes and liberty,' and those who refused to join in it were beaten and insulted." In a letter to Mr. Calcraft, of the 10th of April, Mr. Gerard Hamilton writes:—"The language of those who live with ministers is bitter against Wilkes; and it seems as if no concession of any sort would be made on the part of the crown. There was a council last night at Lord Weymouth's, and there is to be another to-night, at which Lord Mansfield is expected to assist. The King's friends are certainly ordered to circulate in all companies, that government is at an end unless Mr. Grenville is put at the head of it; and if Lord Mansfield really goes to council, I shall begin to think that will be the case. I have seen those who were at court to-day. In appearance, the present ministers are in favour: you know how much that is to be relied on." Again, on the 2d of May,—"At the meeting about which we conversed when I saw you last, Rigby and the Bedfords gave their opinion for immediate expulsion; who, to their surprise, were opposed by Dunning. He stated the impossibility of finding any legal grounds for the support of such a measure, Wilkes having been convicted not as the author, but the publisher only, of the blasphemous poem. In consequence of this disagreement, there was another meeting at Lord North's last night, to which the Bedfords were not summoned. From the best intelligence I have been able to procure, the intention of the ministry is not to take any step in relation to Wilkes, upon our meeting on the 10th of May; and though the court of King's Bench will hear the errors brought against the outlawry argued in the course of this week, they will nevertheless postpone giving their judgment till parliament adjourns; at least, this is the opinion of all the lawyers."

session of the privy seal. Indeed, my dear Lord, our seals ought to go together. "Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus, utcunque præcedes." I am, with the most perfect attachment, zeal, and gratitude,

Your most obliged friend and servant,

CAMDEN.

SIR WILLIAM DRAPER⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Manilla Hall, near Bristol, June 11, 1768.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to send you the enclosed Inscription designed for a triumphal pillar in my garden. As

(¹) Sir William Draper was born at Bristol in 1721, and educated at Eton and King's college, Cambridge. After having proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1744, and to that of M.A. in 1749, he quitted the university, and, joining the British troops in the East Indies, signalised himself at the capture of Fort St. George. On his return to England in 1760, with the rank of colonel, he was made governor of Yarmouth, and, in the following year acted as brigadier-general in the expedition against Belleisle. In 1762 he commanded the troops who conquered Manilla; which place was saved from plunder by the agreement of the captors to accept bills on Madrid for one million sterling; which were never honoured, the Spanish government peremptorily refusing to abide by the treaty. His first appearance as a writer was in his able pamphlet entitled, "An Answer to the Spanish Arguments for refusing the Payment of the Ransom Bills." His services were rewarded with a red riband, and the colonelcy of the sixteenth foot; which he resigned to Colonel Gisborne, for his half pay of 200*l.* Irish annuities. This common transaction furnished Junius with many a sarcasm. Having, in 1769, had the misfortune to lose his wife, he proceeded to America; where, in the following

there is no name that can be affixed to it with so much propriety as Lord Chatham's, I most earnestly request your permission for that purpose, and shall be extremely happy if it shall be thought in any degree worthy of the person for whom it is intended.

I am, my Lord, with the truest esteem,

Your most affectionate servant,

WILLIAM DRAPER.

VIRO MEMORABILI INVICTO
 QUI IN DUBIIS TREPIDISQ. REBUS
 PATRIÆ LABORANTI
 VINDICEM SE IMPAVIDUM OBTULIT
 RUENTIS IMPERII STATOR
 CONSILII ET EXEMPLI SINGULARIS AUCTOR
 ET AUSUS GRANDIA ET ASSECUTUS
 NOMINIS BRITANNICI
 REIQ. MILITARIS GLORIAM
 JAM PROPE INTERMORTUAM
 RESUSCITAVIT ADAUXIT
 QUI ORBEM FERE UNIVERSUM ANIMO COMPLEXUS
 HOSTIBUS TERRÆ MARIQ. PROFLIGATIS
 EUROPAM ASIAM AFRICAM AMERICAM
 VICTORIIS PERAGRAVIT
 TRIUMPHIS ILLUSTRAVIT
 GULIELMO PITT COMITI DE CHATHAM
 HOC AMICITIÆ PRIVATÆ TESTIMONIUM
 SIMUL ET HONORIS PUBLICI MONUMENTUM
 POSUIT GULIELMUS DRAPER.

year, he married Miss De Lancy, daughter of the chief-justice of New York. In 1779 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Minorca; a trust which, however discharged, ended unfortunately. In 1783 Sir William retired to Bath; where he died, in January, 1787. Mr. Pitt, in alluding to the capture of Manilla, in the course of his speech on American taxation, in January 1766, describes its gallant conqueror as "a gentleman whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country."

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO SIR WILLIAM
DRAPER.

[From a draught in her own handwriting.]

Hayes, June 16, 1768.

SIR,

MY LORD continuing so much indisposed as to be quite unable to write, is obliged to commit to me the pleasure of acknowledging the honour of your letter. He desires to say, that he is most truly touched with the too favourable and partial sentiments of one, who is himself so justly the admiration of his country, and so distinguished an instrument of its glory.

He begs to add, as nothing can or ought to make him so proud as the testimony of Sir William Draper's private friendship, that he hopes Sir William will give him leave most earnestly to entreat, that of an Inscription so infinitely partial, the four last lines alone may remain, as conveying the honour he is most ambitious of. He trusts Sir William Draper will have the goodness to grant and to pardon the liberty of this request.

I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and highest regard, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

H. CHATHAM.

SIR WILLIAM DRAPER TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Manilla Hall, June 19, 1768.

MADAM,

I AM honoured with your Ladyship's letter. Lord Chatham shall be obeyed ; but it is the first time in my life, that I could almost wish to disobey his commands.

I shall be most truly sorry if his delicacy has been offended by the former part of the Inscription, as it only spoke the sentiments of every person in the three kingdoms unconnected with faction, and the envy, malice, and rage of party quarrels ; nor will I scruple to affirm, that it spoke the sense of every nation in Europe, even of those who have had the greatest reason to dread his superior genius and abilities, and have so severely felt the consequences.

The last four lines that his Lordship has suffered me to affix are so extremely flattering to me, that I fear I shall be thought to have erected a pillar to my own vanity, and not to Lord Chatham's virtues : for what greater glory can an individual boast of, than to have Lord Chatham's permission to tell the world, that he is honoured with his approbation, patronage, and friendship ; nor will it be a small addition to it, that I have the liberty to subscribe myself, Madam, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,
W. DRAPER.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO SIR WILLIAM
DRAPER.

Hayes, June 25th, 1768.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the honour of your most obliging letter, and am desired by my Lord to express his warmest acknowledgments for your great goodness in so kindly granting, and pardoning, the earnest request he took the liberty to make. I am at the same time to confess to you, that my Lord is not a little unhappy not to have in his private drawer, for his children hereafter, a composition of so much beauty, dictated by the partiality, and written with the hand, of Sir William Draper; which my mistake put up in my letter to you.

Give me leave to add the extreme interest I take in that paper, and how sensibly I should share in the obligation, if you would have the goodness to send it back to me. My Lord desires his respectful and affectionate compliments to you, and I beg you will be persuaded, that I am, with the most perfect esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most obliged and

most obedient servant,

H. CHATHAM. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) Sir William Draper yielded to Lord Chatham's pressing entreaty, and, to the obelisk which he shortly after erected in the front of his seat at Manilla, affixed only the four last lines of the inscription. On returning it to Lady Chatham, Sir William says, "I beg leave to inform your Ladyship, that its Latinity was corrected and improved by my friend Dr. Barnard of Eton, to whom I sent it for inspection, as I was unwilling to

THE EARL OF RADNOR ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Longford, July 14, 1768.

MY LORD,

ABOUT eighteen months ago, on an expected promotion of lieutenants in the navy, I recommended Lieutenant Edward Palmer to Sir Edward Hawke, who promised to remember him when the promotion took place; but twelve having lately been promoted and Mr. Palmer forgot, I wrote to Sir Edward and received the enclosed, which I take the liberty to transmit. I must own, as I have steadily and disinterestedly endeavoured to support government, I thought myself entitled to ask such a favour, as the object of it was, in character both public and private, deserving of it. I shall esteem it a favour

trust entirely to my own judgment, in a thing which requires much delicacy; or to my skill in a language which other avocations had something impaired. Its prolixity and luxuriations have been pruned by the Doctor's wholesome severity." Dr. Edward Barnard was at this time provost of Eton school, canon of Windsor, and rector of Paul's Cray, Kent. In a memoir of him by George Hardinge, one of his pupils, he is thus described:—"In powers of conversation, whether *tête-à-tête* or in a mixed company, I never knew his equal. He was, at all points of companionable entertainment, admirable; but his *forte* was a picturesque anatomy of character. His narratives, like those of Garrick, brought the figures alive before you, and yet with no theatrical pedantry; in which respect I thought him superior to Garrick." He died in 1781.

⁽¹⁾ William Pleydell Bouverie, first Earl of Radnor. His Lordship was, for several years, governor of the Levant or Turkey Company and of the hospital for French Protestants, and a fellow of the Royal Society. He died in 1776.

if your Lordship will obtain this promotion for Mr. Palmer, by having his name immediately added to the list. I know it is in your Lordship's power, and by effecting it you will oblige him, who is with great truth and respect,

Your Lordship's faithful and
obedient humble servant,

RADNOR.

LADY CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF RADNOR.

[From a copy in her own handwriting.]

Hayes, July 16, 1768.

MY LORD,

LORD CHATHAM continuing still much indisposed and unable to write, begs leave to acknowledge by my hand the honour of your Lordship's letter. He desires me to acquaint your Lordship, that he does not enter into any business, and at the same time to express the *insuperable* difficulty it would, in any situation, lay him under, to interfere with regard to a promotion in the navy, which Sir Edward Hawke has found necessary to decline.

He begs your Lordship will have the goodness to believe it is a real mortification to him to be obliged to excuse himself from obeying your Lordship's commands.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, my Lord, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

SIR WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP PROCTER, BART. TO THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

August 6, 1768.

MY LORD,

I HOPE to have the honour of your Lordship's assistance at the next election for Middlesex; which will greatly enlarge my prospect of success, and infinitely oblige

Your Lordship's most sincere and
most obedient humble servant,

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTER. ⁽¹⁾

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO SIR WILLIAM
BEAUCHAMP PROCTER, BART.

[From a draught in the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

August —, 1768.

LORD CHATHAM presents his compliments to Sir William B. Procter, and is sorry that the state of his health prevents him from being able to acknowledge himself the honour of his letter. He begs to acquaint Sir William, that he has *constantly declined meddling in elections*, and therefore hopes

(1) In consequence of the death of Mr. Cooke, the colleague of Wilkes, Sir William Beauchamp Procter, the unsuccessful candidate for Middlesex at the general election in March, again offered himself, and was opposed by Serjeant Glynn; who was returned by a majority of 1542 against 1278.

that he will be so good as to accept of his excuses on the occasion he has done him the honour to mention. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) From the beginning of August to the middle of October the state of Lord Chatham's health incapacitated him for all business. The following passages from Mr. Gerard Hamilton's letters to Mr. Calcraft throw no small light on the state of the ministry and of parties during this period : —

“ July 20. — Here seems to be for the present a perfect stagnation of politics. The Bedfords declare every where they have the whole in their hands. They abuse the Duke of Grafton, and continue to persecute Shelburne. The King of Sardinia having desired there might be some minister resident at Turin, and George Pitt refusing to go, the appointment of a successor is in Shelburne's department. He recommended Lord Tankerville, but the King refused to adopt his nomination. On Friday last the Duke of Grafton wrote Shelburne word, that the King had destined Lynch for Turin, but he has as yet received no notice from Shelburne of the appointment; whence it is concluded that his Lordship means not to submit, or at least to take one more trial in the closet. This whole transaction is as yet a secret. I have heard, from tolerable authority, that the Bedfords wrote to George Grenville, desiring he would come to town, as they wished to have his advice before they proceeded any further; but that he returned a very cold, unsatisfactory answer, and informed them, that nothing but an application from the King could bring him from the country. The cabinet still continue differing upon every subject on which a difference is possible; so that it does not seem likely things should continue precisely as they are.”

“ July 21. — Notwithstanding all his resolutions, Shelburne's temper had got the better of him, and he would have resigned, if the chancellor had not persuaded him to the contrary. The great politician Brown is clear that some negotiation is on foot, and confirms all our other intelligence, that George Grenville is the object of it. The report of the town is, that Lord Bute and the Duke of Grafton have had a violent dispute.”

“ July 22. — Lord Bute, it is said, goes abroad the second week in August. It is not yet determined who goes to Turin. The Bedfords have been endeavouring to persuade Lynch, that

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Newmarket, October 5, 1768.

MADAM,

It would give me the most cordial satisfaction to be able to have the honour of seeing your Ladyship

it will be very expensive to him, and is not worth his having; at which piece of chicanery he professes to be outrageous.* I have heard this morning, that Lord North has taken offence at some treatment he has received from the Duke of Grafton. I am thoroughly satisfied, from some information I have lately had, that the court consider Lord Chatham's illness as mere hypocrisy. This distresses them exceedingly, and inclines them to have recourse to George Grenville."

"July 24. — Shelburne's employment has been offered to Lord Egmont; first, by two expresses from administration, and afterwards by Rigby, on a visit to him in Somersetshire; but all in vain. He will not accept, and says that though Mr. Grenville is a most disagreeable man to do business with, he is nevertheless the fittest person to be at the head of this country. Upon Egmont's refusal, it was offered to Lord Halifax, who has likewise declined; and I am persuaded Lord Northumberland was tried before either of the other two. The Bedfords, in their conversation at Arthur's, say that George Grenville will take to any body rather than to them. They once had hopes that he would be prevailed on to be secretary of state, in the room of Shelburne. All these circumstances look like an approaching dissolution. My opinion is this, — that the Duke of Grafton and the court understand one another; that a change is meant, and that the Bedfords are not in the secret. A packet is arrived from Virginia as well as from Boston. The assembly of that province have sent over a petition to parliament, in which they deny the right of the British legislature to impose

* In September Mr. Lynch was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the King of Sardinia.

for one quarter of an hour, at any day or hour after Saturday next that you shall be pleased to command me to wait on you at Hayes. It is so long since Lord Chatham's health has allowed his Lordship to see me, that, struggling in a most arduous career, where friendship to him could alone bring me from a life much more pleasing to my own mind, I think I am entitled from this circumstance to claim the favour I beg of your Ladyship, in order to disburden my mind on some particular subjects, and that your Ladyship may know at least that my whole con-

taxes on America. The Duke of Grafton was rather shy, and did not come to attend the last council at Hillsborough's. They meet again on Wednesday, when he is to be present. There are those who think that the Bedfords will have the whole."

"August 1.— Lord Botetourt's appointment* surprised me much, but Amherst's removal more. Lord Granby is much abused for not resisting it, and Amherst, I hear, is not to be pacified, though advantageous offers have been made to him. Nothing can be more contradictory than the accounts one hears. The Bedford people assert, that there is not the most remote probability of a change, and the friends of the Duke of Grafton assert the same thing. Upon the whole, I think Shelburne's continuance rather confirms than contradicts the opinion I delivered to you in my last. It is natural to suppose, that the court would not suffer a partial remove to take place if they had a general one in view; and of the proposal made to Lord Egmont I don't entertain a doubt."

"August 15. — Take these three things for granted:— that the removal of Shelburne was proposed in the closet, and objected to; that the Duke of Grafton still thinks he can carry the point, and that Rochford is to be his successor; and that the Bedfords have been endeavouring to get the treasury for Lord Gower."

* As governor of Virginia, in the room of Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

duct has not, nor shall have, any other bias than that which brought me forward into my present situation.

I shall be in London on Saturday, and hope to find the favour of a line there from your Ladyship ; to whom I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and the most profound respect, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
GRAFTON.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF
GRAFTON.

Hayes, October 8, 1768.

MY LORD,

I AM extremely honoured by your Grace's most obliging letter, which I received this morning by the post. I hope your Grace will believe I must be always highly flattered with receiving a visit from you, but I should think myself inexcusable if I suffered your Grace to have the trouble of coming to Hayes, without first apprizing you, that the very weak state of my Lord's health puts it absolutely out of my power to convey to him the communication of any business ; and I beg to add, that being conscious how unequal I am to judge of political matters, *the whole* I can say to your Grace, is to express, as I beg leave to do in this letter, my real good wishes for the honour of his Majesty

and for the success of his affairs, which are in your Grace's hands.

If, notwithstanding, your Grace should still continue to let me have the honour of seeing you, according to your obliging intention, I shall hope for that honour about noon on Sunday next. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and greatest respect,

Your Grace's, &c. &c.

H. CHATHAM.⁽¹⁾

(1) The following imperfect memorandum of a conversation with the Duke of Grafton is in the handwriting of Lady Chatham : —

“ October 9, 1768.

“ ‘ Does your Ladyship think Lord Chatham will resign ? ’ —
‘ My Lord's health is very bad.’

“ ‘ I struggle through immense difficulties, from the hope of restoring to Lord Chatham's hands the whole of business, which you know I continued only in that view,’ &c.

“ ‘ I must confess, from the length of my Lord's illness, and the manner in which the gout is dispersed upon his habit, that I believe there is but small prospect of his ever being able to enter much again into business.’ * * * *

“ ‘ With regard to that, though my Lord's health is too weak to admit of any communication of business, I am able to tell your Grace from my Lord himself, having mentioned to him the reports of Lord Shelburne's removal, that it will never have his consent nor concurrence, as thinking it quite contrary to the King's service. He has a great regard and friendship for him, and thinks his abilities make him necessary, in the office he is in, to the carrying on of his Majesty's business. My Lord would think either most unhappy and very unfortunate for his Majesty's service.’ ” *

* This last remark seems to refer to something dropped by the Duke, with reference to the dismissal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst and the Earl of Shelburne.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Wednesday, October 12, 1768.

MY LORD,

My extremely weak and broken state of health continuing to render me entirely useless to the King's service, I beg your Grace will have the goodness to lay me, with the utmost duty, at his Majesty's feet, together with my humblest request that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant me his royal permission to resign the privy seal. May I be allowed at the same time to offer to his Majesty my deepest sense of his Majesty's long, most humane, and most gracious indulgence towards me, and to express my ardent prayers for his Majesty.

Though unable to enter into business, give me leave, my Lord, not to conclude without expressing to your Grace, that I cannot enough lament the removal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst and that of Lord Shelburne.⁽¹⁾ I will add no more to your Grace's present trouble, than to desire your Grace will accept my sincerest acknowledgments of all your goodness to me. I beg your Grace to believe me, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your Grace's, &c. &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

(1) Upon the removal of Lord Shelburne, which took place in the beginning of January, Lord Weymouth was appointed secretary of state for the southern department, in his stead, and the Earl of Rochford succeeded Lord Weymouth as secretary of state for the northern.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 12, 1768.

MY LORD,

I FEEL too much concern in the idea of any circumstance that can induce your Lordship to retire from your situation in the King's service, from the prejudice it will bring on his Majesty's affairs, that if I had no other reasons, I should even on this consideration beg leave to represent my sentiments on an event so unhappy for this country. But, my Lord, having myself given way some time ago to your entreaties to me to remain in my present post, when your health was at least as bad as it now is, I have some right to claim from you a return of the same conduct, when I see, as your Lordship was pleased then to say, that nothing could be so truly serviceable to his Majesty's affairs. Allow me to recall this conversation and assurance from your Lordship to your recollection, and on the ground of it to entreat your Lordship not to deprive his Majesty of that support, which even the hopes of your recovery gives to his government.

Your Lordship's letter laments a circumstance which I mentioned to Lady Chatham as one appearing to me to be necessary, and on which I intended humbly to submit my opinion to his Majesty. I lament it also, as Lord Shelburne was recommended by your Lordship; yet give me leave to say, that, in the same situation, your Lordship would give the same advice as that which

my honour, as well as my duty to the King, will call me to give.

I could heartily have wished to have had an opportunity of explaining to your Lordship many important subjects, and amongst them how much Sir Jeffrey Amherst misconstrued the intentions of his Majesty and of his servants towards him; but your Lordship's health depriving me of that satisfaction, I could only impart to Lady Chatham in general the earnest wish I shall ever have for your recovery, and that I have ever been and shall always remain, with the truest attachment, esteem, and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, faithful,

and most humble servant,

GRAFTON.

P. S. Your Lordship will observe, that I must postpone the obedience I owe to your commands, in hopes of seeing that what I have said in this letter has had some weight with your Lordship.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Thursday, October 13, 1768.

MY LORD,

I AM truly sensible how real an honour your Grace does me in the wish you are so good as to

mention with regard to the letter with which I took the liberty to trouble your Grace yesterday. It must ever be a great grief to me to be reduced to a necessity of doing any thing contrary to your Grace's wish; but, unfortunately, the necessity which compelled me to trouble your Grace upon this painful subject obliges me again to ask the same favour of your Grace, to lay at his Majesty's feet the most humble request contained in my letter of yesterday.

Give me leave, my Lord, to renew to your Grace the sincere assurances that I shall ever retain with pleasure the fullest sense of all your Grace's goodness towards me. I am, with the highest respect and attachment, my Lord,

Your Grace's, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, October 14, 1768.

MY LORD,

IT was with the most real regret that I found myself obliged, by your Lordship's second letter, to lay your request before the King. The manner in which his Majesty received this unwelcome news better proved to me than I can describe to your Lordship the sense his Majesty has of the prejudice that this step of your Lordship's will bring to his affairs. Though every representation

of mine has not availed, yet I must flatter myself that the King, whose sincere wish for your Lordship's return to conduct his affairs I have been a constant witness to, will be able to persuade, where, from this ground alone, he has so good a right.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with every sentiment of the most perfect esteem, honour, and respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful
and obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Friday,
October 14, 1768.

LORD CHATHAM presents his best compliments to the Duke of Grafton, and hopes his Grace will pardon his not answering the honour of his Grace's letter, having already made an effort greatly beyond his strength, in renewing with his own hand his humblest supplications to the King.

THE KING TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Queen's House, October 14, 1768.

LORD CHATHAM,

THE Duke of Grafton communicated to me yesterday your desire of resigning the privy seal, on account of the continuation of your ill state of health. As you entered upon that employment in August 1766, at my own requisition, I think I have a right *to insist* on your remaining in my service; for I with pleasure look forward to the time of your recovery, when I may have your assistance in resisting the torrent of Factions this country so much labours under. This thought is the more frequent in my mind, as the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Grafton take every opportunity to declare warmly to me their desire of seeing that: therefore I again repeat it, you must not think of retiring, but of pursuing what may be most conducive to restore your health, and to my seeing you take a public share in my affairs.

GEORGE R.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE KING.

[From a draught in the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

Hayes, Friday, October 14, 1768.

SIR,

PENETRATED with the high honour of your Majesty's gracious commands, my affliction is in-

finite to be forced by absolute necessity from illness to lay myself again at your Majesty's feet for compassion. My health is so broken, that I feel all chance of recovery will be entirely precluded by my continuing longer to hold the privy seal, totally disabled as I still am, from assisting in your Majesty's councils.

Under this load of unhappiness, I will not despair of your Majesty's pardon, while I supplicate again on my knees your Majesty's mercy, and most humbly implore your Majesty's royal permission to resign that high office.

Should it please God to restore me to health, every moment of my life will be at your Majesty's devotion. In the mean time, the thought your Majesty deigns to express of my recovery is my best consolation.

I am, Sir,

with all submission and veneration,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, &c. &c. &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, October 22, 1768.

MADAM,

I FOUND your Ladyship's letter upon my table last Wednesday, upon my return from Bath; whence I was summoned by an express upon Lord Chatham's resignation.

I do assure your Ladyship, that no event ever affected me with so much concern, or threw me into such a perplexing uncertainty as to my own conduct. My inclination led me at once to follow my Lord's example, and not to survive one moment his political departure; and the least intimation of a wish that way from his Lordship would have been decisive; but as I was not able to collect, from your Ladyship's letter coming after the thing was done, any thing that favoured that idea, my resignation would have wanted that sanction.

After a long conflict within myself between my own longings for ease and retirement, now redoubled by my Lord's retreat, on the one side, and the distressed state of things almost compelling my continuance on the other, I have suffered myself to be overcome by the King's pressing entreaties, — I might almost say commands, — not to desert his service at this juncture; the Duke of Grafton declaring at the same time, that he could not safely or honourably continue without me.

Thus have I unwillingly, and with the utmost reluctance, consented to halt on a while longer with this crippled administration; for so it now is, being deprived of the main prop that gave it support. I must proceed as I can, and find my own way, resolved still that Lord Chatham shall be my pole star, so long as I can discern how to steer by it.

If this measure should contribute to my Lord's recovery, and re-establish his health (which I pray to

God it may), I shall then change my tone, and pronounce that event to be the most fortunate, which at present seems the most distressful to this miserable country. I have the honour to be, with my best respects to Lord Chatham, and with the highest regard and honour for your Ladyship,

Your Ladyship's most obedient faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

Hayes, October 22, 1768.

MY LORD,

I WILL not detain your Lordship's servant a moment longer than to assure you of the infinite satisfaction Lord Chatham feels (to which let me add my own) in finding that your Lordship is to continue to serve his Majesty in the high station you so greatly fill. My Lord's anxious wishes on this important object were so fully expressed in the letter your Lordship found on your return, that you will easily judge what an extreme pain it would have given him, if, in consequence of his broken health, the King had been deprived of your Lordship's services.

We renew the warmest wishes for your Lordship's health, and I desire to assure your Lordship, that I am, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, yours, &c. &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ickworth Lodge, October 29, 1768.

MY LORD,

YOUR resignation of the privy seal determined me to write as soon as I got to town, to know what conduct I should hold in public life, that might prove me the faithfulest of your friends.

A letter I have this instant received from Lord Camden, which I take the liberty of enclosing, makes me entreat your Lordship to tell me what answer you wish me to give to the proposal it contains. I cannot think of accepting the privy seal without your Lordship's approbation, and I would forego that or any satisfaction to show my gratitude to you. Do you choose, my Lord, that I should hold it till your health will permit you to resume the reins of government? Be assured, my Lord, that on such terms I shall relinquish the office with infinitely more satisfaction than I can enter into it.

I entreat you, my dear Lord, only let me hear what you wish me to do; for all I want is to convince your Lordship of the unalterable esteem, respect, and entire attachment, with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

most obliged, and most

faithful humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF BRISTOL.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, October 30, 1768.

MY LORD,

I AM justly sensible of the great honour your Lordship does me in wishing to know my sentiments with regard to the offer to your Lordship, contained in my Lord Chancellor's letter; but as my entire loss of health has, for a long time, disabled me from taking any share in public business, I trust I shall easily obtain your Lordship's pardon, if, after having resigned the privy seal on that account, I beg to decline any way entering into arrangements of office. Allow me, my Lord, at the same time to entreat, that the idea of your Lordship's holding the privy seal only for an interim may not, on any account, be farther thought of by your Lordship.

Accept, my Lord, my best acknowledgments for all your goodness, together with sincerest wishes that your Lordship's situation in the King's service may be every way agreeable.

I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

CHATHAM. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ The above letter corrects a mistatement at this time in circulation; namely, that the Earl of Bristol's acceptance of the privy seal was with the advice, and at the recommendation, of Lord Chatham. See Political Register, vol. iii. p. 333.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

November 26, 1768.⁽¹⁾

It is impossible, my dear Lady Chatham, that any frost can prevail against the warmth of that satisfaction which I received yesterday, in so many shapes. I got home before eleven, perfectly well, and hope the gout will do its duty; which will complete the wishes of my dear Lady Chatham's most truly affectionate,

TEMPLE.

My love to all Hayes, great and small.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Saturday night, 9 o'clock.

[February 4, 1769.]

THE House of Commons was up about two this morning; the expulsion⁽²⁾ carried by no more

(¹) Through the mediation of their mutual friend, Mr. Calcraft, a reconciliation between Lord Chatham and Earl Temple had taken place at Hayes on the preceding day. The gratifying event is thus recorded in the Political Register: — "November 25, 1768. In consequence of repeated solicitations on the part of the Earl of Chatham, a most cordial, firm, and perpetual union this day took place with his noble brother-in-law, Earl Temple. It is not doubted that this friendship will produce the most solid advantages to the public. Mr. Grenville has heartily acceded to this union."

(²) The motion for the expulsion was made by Lord Barrington, in these words: — "That John Wilkes, Esq., a member

than eighty-two, though Conway retired without voting, and the gallant marquis ⁽¹⁾ voted for it. The numbers were 137 to 219. My brother made what was universally deemed the best speech he ever made against expulsion. ⁽²⁾ Mr. Pitt ⁽³⁾ spoke and voted as my brother. Wilkes stands again. The Solicitor-general, Hussey, Pratt, &c., absent. The accumulated crimes of No. 45, the impious and obscene libel, and that against Lord Weymouth, are the foundation of this expulsion; so that in the debate every man dwelt upon the crime he most detested, and disapproved of the punishment for the rest. The various flowers of their eloquence composed a most delightful nosegay. Burke spoke admirably; so did a Mr. Cornwall.

Ever warmly and affectionately the brother of
Hayes,

TEMPLE.

of this House, who hath at the bar of this House certified himself to be the author and publisher of what this House has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the court of King's Bench of having printed and published a seditious libel, and three obscene and impious libels, and by the judgment of the said court has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months' imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, — be expelled this House."

⁽¹⁾ The Marquis of Granby.

⁽²⁾ With the exception of Mr. George Grenville's celebrated speech upon this occasion, which he corrected and published, from the minutes supplied to him by Sir Henry Cavendish, no report of this debate is preserved in any of the collections.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. See Vol. I. p. 57.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Thursday, past five. [March 9, 1769.]

MUCH mortified, my dear sister, at the unexpected return of that unwelcome guest, the gout. Best and kindest wishes are not wanting on the occasion; but, alas! what does that avail? The Dingleyans, apprehensive of being out-voted, had prepared an address ready cut and dried; words ensued, and the hero of the meeting, Master Dingley, struck Wilkes's attorney, who knocked him down in return, and bade him go to the treasury for more money, as next term he should be put in the crown office. Dingley was then deprived of the honour of presiding, and Vaughan, the merchant, put in the chair, who had taken the lead in the city instructions. The Dingley party retired from the field of battle, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address; which committee was to meet this morning, and a general meeting is to be held to-morrow to receive the report. I have been told that many of the most considerable merchants

(1) "On the 8th of March, several merchants and others met at the King's Arms tavern, in Cornhill, in order to sign an address to the King, which lay ready prepared for that purpose. A warm debate ensued upon the propriety of the measure, and from words they came to blows. Mr. Charles Dingley, a zealous advocate for the address, struck Mr. Reynolds, the attorney of Wilkes, and the attorney, in return, knocked Mr. Dingley down; the fray beginning to spread, the address was withdrawn, and the chief promoters of it followed it." — *Annual Register*.

on the side of liberty were present. Dingley's address is likewise signing, and I suppose the whole will afford matter for diversion at least. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 16th of March, Mr. Wilkes was again returned for Middlesex. Upon this occasion, Mr. Dingley made an attempt to oppose the popular candidate; but being roughly handled by the populace, he was compelled to retire. Just as the sheriffs had declared Mr. Wilkes duly elected, a protest against the legality of the proceeding was presented to them; but as no one had stepped forward to propose Mr. Dingley, it was disregarded. The following amusing account of this gentleman's "scuffle" at the King's Arms tavern, and of his "hair-breadth 'scapes" at Brentford, is contained in a letter from himself to Lady Chatham: — "Your Ladyship has certainly heard of my late adventure, &c. &c. In 1745, I entered myself a common soldier in the foot-guards. The remains of the same spirit of loyalty, and the desire to do some notable act, induced me to offer my services to snatch and destroy the dagger of confusion and rebellion, by representing the county of Middlesex. That I did not succeed (which may be for the best, as to me), was a mishap. I got into a scuffle a week before that of Brentford, and by a blow I gave Wilkes's attorney, Reynolds, I got such a hurt from his teeth, as to make my right hand very lame and useless. In this plight I sallied forth for Brentford: the timidity was so epidemic, that I had not one freeholder to attend me, or upon the hustings, as I could see; but of the adverse party in number three or four hundred, who all bore upon me to prevent my getting to offer myself as a candidate. Could I have got to have offered myself, I believe four to five hundred would have polled for me. I have been much threatened, had incendiary letters, &c. &c.; but have been brave and well, until within a few days past, when I was seized with agonizing pain; and it is thought owing to a crush at the door in getting upon the hustings; but God be thanked, from the application used, I have got rid of all pain, and am getting well. Thus much by way of recital," &c. &c. According to Junius, "the miserable Dingley" was induced by the Duke of Grafton to oppose Wilkes for Middlesex, and died shortly after of a broken heart, in consequence of having been so contemptuously treated. He was a great projector, and proprietor of the saw-mills at Limehouse.

Burke made a motion yesterday to inquire into the recent riots in St. George's Fields. George Grenville, it seems, took part against it, and the Rockinghams were left under forty.⁽¹⁾ The Duke of Newcastle expressed to Lord Coventry this morning great impatience for Lord Chatham's arrival at court, and in the closet. I just relate what passed, for the amusement of any interval of pain; sorry there should be so powerful a *veto* as has now taken his Lordship by the foot. So, with many thanks for the hospitality of Hayes, I remain ever

Your sincerely affectionate

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Friday, past eight. [April 14, 1769.]

I AM this instant come from the House of Commons, who have voted the election of Wilkes void. The sheriffs, after waiting for them long, at last appeared, and the poll is brought up; but by consent the House is to adjourn till Saturday or Monday; upon which they are now debating. The resolution is to bring in Luttrell. Every thing passed quietly at Brentford; the numbers for Wilkes 1143, for Luttrell 296, for Whitaker 5, for Roach 0. Illuminations, from Northumberland

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Burke's motion was negatived by 245 against 39.

House all through the city, but no riot nor compulsion ; the spirit very much alive and very universal indeed. Middlesex will address the King to dissolve the parliament ; which will be instantly followed by the lord mayor and livery of London. I suppose I shall be in the House of Commons till Sunday morning. ⁽¹⁾ Calcraft hears that the ministry are all together by the ears, and that a change is resolved. How unaccountable is every thing ! Kind loves, and ever most truly and affectionately,
TEMPLE.

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Knightsbridge, April 27, 1769.

MY LORD,

It is with the truest satisfaction that I hear your Lordship is recovered from your late attack of the gout. I hope this last fit will fully re-establish your Lordship's health. Whenever that health will permit, and it is convenient to you to admit a sincere well wisher to pay his respects to your Lordship, if you will do me the honour to let me

(¹) On Friday the 14th, as soon as the House of Commons had voted Mr. Wilkes's re-election void, the sheriffs were ordered to attend the House with the poll ; but as no notice had been given them, the night was so far advanced before they came, that the House, after a division of 207 to 115, adjourned to the following day, which was Saturday ; when, after a long debate, which lasted till three on Sunday morning, Mr. Luttrell was declared duly elected, by 197 against 143.

know it, I shall be very happy to wait on your
Lordship, being with the truest esteem and respect,
my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful
and obliged humble servant,
GRANBY.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF
GRANBY.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, April 27, 1769.

MY LORD,

I HAVE this moment received the honour of your
Lordship's most obliging letter, and cannot enough
express my sincere acknowledgments for the kind
interest you are so good as to take in my health,
as well as for the favourable sentiments with which
your Lordship honours me. I have ventured, for
the first time, to take the air in a carriage to-day,
and flatter myself I may, for the present, escape a
return of gout, though still extremely lame.

I shall at all times be proud and happy with the
honour of seeing Lord Granby; and if your Lord-
ship will have the goodness to come to Hayes on
Saturday next, between eleven and twelve, in case
the day and hour should not be inconvenient to
your Lordship, you will bestow a very real honour
and pleasure on him who is, with the truest
esteem and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Saturday, quite seven, May 6, 1769.

I LIKE not, my dear Sister, the account you give of yourself, nor am I quite edified with that of your better half. No news that is good, of any sort. It is now certain Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden have never given any opinion concerning the disqualification, since they say so themselves. The latter asserts it to Wedderburn, "he never said more than that votes were thrown away, if given to persons disqualified;" in which you know we all agree. None of the judges have ever said more. I hope we shall still make a good figure on Monday, fifty or sixty of our friends having been absent the last great day.

Lord Granby has made his report to the Duke of Grafton of what passed with Lord Chatham.⁽¹⁾ His Grace justified himself as well as he could, to the different things which he apprehended were found fault with at Hayes; was ready to do as Lord Chatham should direct when he came forth, but rather wondered that his Lordship should choose rather to see the King first, as it would be better

⁽¹⁾ On Friday the 5th of May, one week after the Marquis's visit to Lord Chatham, Junius, under the signature of "Your real Friend," addressed a short letter to his Lordship on the subject of his vote in favour of the expulsion of Wilkes. In forwarding it to Mr. Woodfall, he says, — "It is essentially necessary that it should be published to-morrow, as the great question comes on on Monday, and *Lord Granby is already staggered.*"

for them to talk together and settle beforehand. Nothing more, I think, occurs worthy of note, and I am bound to the new opera. So, with the most kind good wishes, I bid you good night.

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Tuesday night. [May 9, 1769.]

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

YESTERDAY turned out again a most glorious day⁽¹⁾; not the shadow of an argument in favour of the disqualification, by precedent or otherwise. Wedderburn made a most excellent speech with us. It has cost him his seat in parliament; which he has this day vacated, in consequence of Sir Laurence Dundas's reproaches and desire, from what I think too generous a delicacy.⁽²⁾ The numbers were 221 to 152; the greatest minority I believe ever known the last day of a session. Seventy of the members have this day dined together at the Thatched-house, consisting of Rockingham, Grenvilles, &c.: this from only the short

(¹) On the 8th of May, after hearing counsel on both sides, and proof being adduced that the numbers upon the poll were, for Mr. Wilkes 1143, and for Mr. Luttrell 296, the House of Commons came to the resolution, upon a division of 221 against 152, that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected for Middlesex.

(²) As soon as it was known that Mr. Wedderburn had resigned his seat for Richmond in Yorkshire, by accepting the Chiltern hundreds, Lord Clive, as will be seen by the following

notice of yesterday. Things tend apace to coalition amongst us. Sir Fletcher was brutal and impertinent to George Grenville last night.⁽¹⁾

letter, instantly stepped forward to preserve to his party the benefit of that gentleman's great talents : —

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE GRENVILLE
TO LORD CLIVE.

“ Bolton Street, May 10, 1769.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I HAVE just this moment received the honour of your letter, whilst Mr. Wedderburn was with me, to whom I have executed your commission. He is extremely sensible of this great mark of your Lordship's esteem and regard, and still more so of the honourable manner in which you have made the proposition for re-choosing him into parliament; which he desires me to assure your Lordship shall certainly remain a secret with him till you give him leave to disclose it, though, as the offer which you made when this extraordinary measure of forcing him out of parliament was first talked of, is already known to five or six different persons, that secret is not so entire as I now wish it was; however, I hope it will not get out, so as to be attended with the least inconvenience to you. If any thing could give me a higher opinion of your character and conduct than that which I entertained before, it would be your behaviour upon this occasion; which, I am fully persuaded, as soon as it is proper to be known, the world will see with the same sentiments of approbation, though not with the same feelings of your constant friendship and kindness, which fill the mind of, my dear Lord,

“ Your Lordship's most affectionate

“ and most devoted humble servant,

“ GEORGE GRENVILLE.”

At the meeting of parliament, in the following January, Mr. Wedderburn was accordingly returned for Bishop's-Castle.

(¹) Mr. Grenville having, in the course of Sir Fletcher Norton's speech, shaken his head in token of dissent, Sir Fletcher exclaimed, “ I wish the right honourable gentleman,

I am half dead with my attendance of yesterday ;
but ever with warm affection to both, your loving
TEMPLE.

P. S. — THE King was much insulted in going
to the House. The exact particulars I have not
yet learned with certainty.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Wednesday, May 10, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,

FOR your amusement I send you the enclosed.⁽¹⁾
Every thing passed most marvellously well yester-

instead of shaking his head, would shake an argument out
of it."

⁽¹⁾ The following is a copy of the enclosure : —

"The seventy-two members present at the dinner at the
Thatched-house tavern were, — Sir E. Astley, Mr. Edmund
Burke, Lord Clive, Mr. Strachey, Sir S. Cornish, Lord F. Ca-
vendish, Sir C. Saunders, Sir J. Mawbey, Mr. P. Bertie, Mr.
Aubrey, Lord J. Cavendish, Sir W. Meredith, Mr. H. Coxe,
Mr. J. Damer, Mr. J. Buller, Mr. Whitworth, Mr. Halsey, Mr.
William Burke, Mr. Cholmondeley, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. J. Mur-
ray, Mr. Norris, Mr. Rolle, Mr. F. V. Sharp, Mr. Skipwith,
Mr. G. B. Clarke, Mr. E. Foley, Sir John St. Aubin, Mr. D.
Lascelles, Hon. J. Damer, Lord Fife, Mr. Beauclerk, Mr. F.
Montagu, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Sir R. Fletcher, Mr. M'Lean,
Mr. Gregory, Gen. Irwin, Mr. T. Townshend, junr., Mr. Gerard
Hamilton, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Rushout, Lord George Sackville,
Mr. George Grenville, Sir George Savile, Lord Ludlow, Col.
Jennings, Sir F. Vincent, Mr. R. Clive, Alderman Beckford,

day at the dinner. I think it is the very greatest blow yet given. A seat is already found and fixed for Wedderburn; but it is a great secret, and more offers than one have been made him. Beckford and Trecothick proposed to him the freedom of the city in a gold box, and Lord George Cavendish the toast which you will read.⁽¹⁾ In short,

Colonel Barré, Alderman Trecothick, Mr. Henry Cavendish, Mr. B. Crosby, Mr. Standert, Captain Phipps, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Cornwall, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Manger, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir W. Codrington, Lord G. Cavendish, Mr. R. Fuller, Mr. Byng, Mr. Whateley, Sir G. Colebroke, Mr. Seymour, Mr. Scudamore, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. J. Townshend."

⁽¹⁾ The toasts were:— "1. The King and Constitution. 2. The Right of Electors. 3. The Law of the Land. 4. The immortal Memory of Lord Chief Justice Holt. 5. The Minority of One Hundred and Fifty-four. 6. The Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds—Mr. Wedderburn. 7. Mr. Cavendish's Creed — 'I do, from my soul, detest and abjure, as unconstitutional and illegal, that damnable doctrine and position, that a resolution of the House of Commons can make, alter, suspend, abrogate, or annihilate, the Law of the Land.' * 8. The first edition of Dr. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England.† 9. Perseverance in the principles and plan of this Meeting. 10. The City of London. 11. The independent Freeholders of Middlesex. 12. May all personal, party, and national distinctions be lost in the public good. 13. Freedom of Debate within doors, and freedom of Election without. 14. May the people of Great Britain always entertain a just sense of the conduct of the House of Commons. 15. The

* This toast formed part of Mr. Henry Cavendish's speech on the preceding night, in the House of Commons.

† In the course of the debate, Mr. George Grenville had quoted a passage from the Commentaries, which contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Dr. Blackstone in the House of Commons.

the most essential service is done him, and the whole meeting appeared to be that of brothers, united in one great constitutional cause. The minority is at least two hundred, or two hundred and twenty.

Ever yours affectionately,

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Stowe, July 11, 1769.

I AM exceedingly happy, my dear Lord, to receive under your own hand a convincing testimony, that you now enjoy that state of convalescence which I have so earnestly wished, and was so fully convinced would take place. Your reception at St. James's, where I am glad you have been, turns out exactly such as I should have expected—full of the highest marks of regard to your Lordship; full of condescension, and of all those sentiments of grace and goodness which his

misrepresented body of the Law. 16. May future administrations not be so remarkable for incapacity as the present. 17. May political arithmeticians be reduced to ciphers. 18. The toast-master, Sir Edward Astley; and may every public officer discharge his duty as well as our toast-master. 19. Our friends who could not attend yesterday. 20. The Peers who are friends to the liberties of the Commons. 21. To our next happy meeting."

Majesty can so well express. I think that you cannot but be happy at the result of this expedition.⁽¹⁾ I congratulate you upon it accordingly.

Your most affectionate and devoted

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Stowe, September 14, 1769.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

I DEFERRED answering your last kind letter till I could recommend my epistle by something more than warm expressions of friendship and goodwill. I can now give you a not unwelcome account of the agreeable and triumphant manner in which the day of our remonstrance and petition passed at Aylesbury. The particulars I am told you will learn from the papers, and the ardent eagerness which was expressed for the union of the three brothers, and the applause with which my assurances that it did exist in the highest degree was received, did indeed give me inexpressible delight.

(¹) Horace Walpole, in a letter to General Conway of the 7th, says, "You desired me to write, if I knew any thing particular. How particular would content you? Come, would the apparition of my Lord Chatham satisfy you? Don't be frightened, it was not his ghost. He, he himself, in *propria personâ*, walked into the King's levee this morning, and was in the closet twenty minutes after the levee."

In short, all things passed inexpressibly well, and I hear the holy flame has caught in Dorsetshire; where I suppose I shall find it ready to blaze by the time I get there, which will be by the end of next week.

George Grenville was not at the meeting, but his son ⁽¹⁾ was; and I assured all the company at a ten-penny ordinary where I dined, that the father approved and wished exceedingly success, though he thought he could more effectually serve the cause in the House of Commons, by not taking part in the remonstrance and petition. As I know my Lord Chatham's whole heart goes with this business, I am the more rejoiced that I can send so good an account, and now conclude with kindest loves and compliments.

Ever yours,

TEMPLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Shooter's Hill, November 25, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE just seen Lord Granby in town. If he keeps his resolution, and I trust he will, your Lordship will see him to-morrow.⁽²⁾ He has been

⁽¹⁾ George Grenville Nugent Temple, grandfather of the present Duke of Buckingham, at this time in his seventeenth year. In 1779, he succeeded his uncle, as Earl Temple.

⁽²⁾ The following is from a memorandum in Mr. Calcraft's handwriting, headed, "Minutes of a Conversation with Lord

with the Chancellor, who opened to him, and pressed his going to a council on Monday, said to be for American business. Lord Granby seems determined to follow the Chancellor, and will go there as he does, unless better advised in the interim. We both understood the Chancellor did not attend councils; and fearing neither of our friends are the best politicians, I cannot help harbouring doubts but they may get entangled at this council, for no pains will be spared; therefore I trouble your Lordship that they may be put on their guard. Nothing has been said as yet by court or minister to Lord Granby on any other subject but that of his father.

Enclosed is the proposed draught of the Kentish petition, on which I shall be proud to receive your Lordship's sentiments. Lord Romney is against any petition to the King about parliament, and does not choose a fresh election at Maidstone.

Granby," and dated, Ingress, November 6, 1769:—"Lord Granby said, he never knew why Lord Chatham resigned; wished to know Mr. * * *. His retiring now would look like skulking to Junius, or he saw himself unfit for the command of the army. Looks to Lord Chatham, but not cordial with Earl Temple or George Grenville. Has not received a line from any soul, or the least intelligence, since he left town. Will advise the King to send for Lord Chatham; and will advise a dissolution, as the only measure to quiet people's minds, now they are so inflamed. Sees his situation, and that his character depends on his appearance, and taking a round, firm part. The best of the lay is another consideration, and Lord Chancellor will stagger him."

The Tories stay away ; Sir George Oxenden is kept from us by the gout ; so, except Mr. Norris, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Cage, and myself, we are in the dark who will attend. The freeholders about Dartford grow more inclined : if the generality will give up their rights, they must ; but shall have a fair trial. I am

Your Lordship's most obliged,

affectionate, humble servant,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, November 25, 1769, Saturday Night.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AGREE most entirely with you concerning the entanglements which may probably be intended by the council on Monday upon American affairs. Lord Chancellor has not apprized me of the council, or consulted me upon what was fit to be done. It is much to be wished that Lord Granby may not go to the place where it rains snares, and where my Lord Chancellor's force of politics will afford but little shelter. Nothing, I trust, will prevent me from having the pleasure to see his Lordship tomorrow. Every kind and affectionate compliment attends Mr. Calcraft. Yours, &c.

CHATHAM.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE GRENVILLE
TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Wotton, December 28, 1769.

THE letter which I received from you last night, my dear Sister, is not the first proof of that tender concern which Lord Chatham and you have shown for me and my family, under the heavy affliction which has befallen us.⁽¹⁾ I have learnt from your letter to my daughter Charlotte ⁽²⁾ how kind an interest you have both taken in us; and though I have not been able to do it myself, I trust that they have both informed you of the sense which I entertain of it. Time will necessarily soften the first emotions after so severe a stroke; but the painful consequences must remain, if not increase.

I acknowledge with gratitude the Divine Goodness which gave to me that happiness which I enjoyed in so unusual a degree, for above twenty years. Religion, wisdom, and every duty call for my submission when it is His pleasure to deprive me of it. I try to obey the call, even in the moment when I feel the blow most bitterly; trusting in the same goodness to assist and support me in these dispositions. The best human comfort

(1) The death of Mrs. George Grenville, which took place at Wotton, on the 5th instant. She was sister to Charles, Earl of Egremont, and daughter of Sir William Wyndham, Bart.

(2) Married, in 1770, to Sir Watkins Williams Wynne, Bart., and mother of the present baronet.

arises from the friendship and sympathy of those who are left to us, and from the prosperity of those whom Heaven has entrusted to our care. The affection of my friends upon this trying occasion has been and is daily manifested towards me in every way that is possible. The best return I can make for it is by my endeavours to deserve and to cultivate it. The favourable opinion Lord Chatham and you entertain of my children makes me flatter myself that the unwearied attention shown to them by her, whose loss they as well as I have too much reason to lament, has not been thrown away. I shall be happy in every opportunity of thanking Lord Chatham and you for the repeated instances of your kindness, and am, my dear Sister, very affectionately,

Your loving brother,

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, January 7, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE enclosed extract containing the best account of the intended Speech which I have received, I trouble your Lordship therewith. Thinking also, that other occurrences may not, at this very critical moment, be unwelcome, I will proceed with some other paragraphs of intelligence.

“ 'Tis said the Duke of Ancaster and Lord Jersey are to move in the Lords⁽¹⁾ (the Earls of

(1) The session was opened on Tuesday the 9th of January. The speech from the throne began by taking notice of a distemper that had broken out among the horned cattle; touched upon some topics concerning foreign affairs and the distractions of America, and concluded with recommending unanimity. The address, in answer thereto, was moved in the Lords, by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore. The two following Speeches of Lord Chatham upon this occasion, as well as that of Lord Mansfield, were first published by Mr. Almon—in 1792—*twenty years after they were delivered*,—from a report furnished by MR., afterwards SIR PHILIP, FRANCIS*, who was present, and were by him revised and corrected, in 1813, for the Parliamentary History. The great

* Mr. Francis was born in Dublin on the 22d of October 1740, O.S. He was the son of the celebrated Philip Francis, D.D., domestic chaplain to Lord Holland, and the tutor of his son, the late Mr. Fox. He received the rudiments of his education in Ireland, but came to England in 1750, and was placed at St. Paul's school, under the care of Mr. George Thicknesse. In 1756, he was given a small appointment in the secretary-of-state's office by Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronised and encouraged him, and through his recommendation Mr. Francis became secretary to General Bligh, in the expedition against Cherburgh in 1758; and again, by the same interest, secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to the court of Lisbon in 1760. On the termination of the embassy in November of that year Mr. Francis returned to the secretary-of-state's office, where he remained some time longer under Mr. Pitt, and then under the Earl of Egremont. That nobleman died in 1763, and Mr. Francis was given an appointment in the War Office by William Ellis, Esq., secretary-at-war, and afterwards Lord Mendip. (See Vol. I. p. 188.) He continued in this situation until March 1772, when he retired, in consequence of a disagreement with Lord Barrington. He then proceeded to the Continent on a tour, and returned to England at the commencement of the following year. In June 1773, he was nominated by Lord North a member of the council appointed for the government of India. In 1780 he fought a duel with Warren Hastings, Esq., the governor-general, and was shot through the body. He shortly afterwards returned to England, and being elected, in 1784, a member of parliament for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, had a principal share in the impeachment of his former antagonist. In 1806, when the whigs came into power, he was made a knight of the Bath. He was the *acknowledged* author of several political tracts and speeches, and was pronounced by Mr. Burke to be "*the first pamphlet writer of the age*." He retired from public life in 1807, and died, December 22, 1818.

Carlisle and March having refused) ; Mr. Payne and Lord Robert Spencer in the Commons. The view

similarity which exists between the language and sentiments contained in these Speeches and the Letters of Junius, would seem to afford grounds for the supposition that that writer took notes of this debate. To assist the curious in this inquiry, references are given to some of the most remarkable of these coincidences, according to the plan adopted in the very able and ingenious work entitled, "Junius Identified." Woodfall's Junius, three volumes 8vo., second edition, 1814, is the one referred to:—

"The Earl of CHATHAM, after some compliment to the noble mover, took notice how happy it would have made him to have been able to concur with the noble duke in every part of an address, which was meant as a mark of respect and duty to the Crown — professed personal obligations to the King, and veneration for him ; that, though he might differ from the noble duke in form of expressing his duty to the Crown, he hoped he should give his Majesty a more substantial proof of his attachment than if he agreed with the motion. That, at his time of life, and loaded as he was with infirmities, he might, perhaps, have stood excused if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But that the alarming state of the nation called upon him, forced him, to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to God, to his sovereign, and to his country ; that he was determined to perform it, even at the hazard of his life. That there never was a period which called more forcibly than the present for the serious attention and consideration of that house ; that as they were the grand hereditary counsellors of the Crown, it was particularly their duty, at a crisis of such importance and danger, to lay before their sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects, the discontent which universally prevailed amongst them, the distresses under which they laboured, the injuries they complained of, and the true causes of this unhappy state of affairs.

"That he had heard with great concern of the distemper among the cattle, and was very ready to give his approbation to those prudent measures which the council had taken for putting a stop to so dreadful a calamity. That he was satisfied there was a power in some degree arbitrary, with which the constitution trusted the Crown, to be made use of under correction of the legislature, and at the hazard of the minister, upon any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity, which might threaten the welfare of the people, or the safety of the state. That on this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he

in getting Payne is to convey an impression of Lord Mansfield's support ; but I have no doubt that

knew was not strictly legal ; but he had recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.*

“That he was extremely glad to hear, what he owned he did not believe when he came into the house, that the King had reason to expect that his endeavours to secure the peace of this country would be successful, for that certainly a peace was never so necessary as at a time when we were torn to pieces by divisions and distractions in every part of his Majesty's dominions. That he had always considered the late peace, however necessary in the then exhausted condition of this country, as by no means equal in point of advantage to what he had a right to expect from the successes of the war, and from the still more exhausted condition of our enemies. That, having deserted our allies, we were left without alliances, and during a peace of seven years had been every moment on the verge of a war : that, on the contrary, France had attentively cultivated her allies, particularly Spain, by every mark of cordiality and respect. That if war was unavoidable, we must enter into it without a single ally, while the whole House of Bourbon was united within itself, and supported by the closest connections with the principal powers in Europe. That the situation of our foreign affairs was undoubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy their lordships consideration ; but that he declared with grief, there were other matters still more important, and more urgently demanding their attention. He meant the distractions and divisions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented the unhappy measures which had divided the colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into excesses which he could not justify. He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for those excesses. That they ought to be treated with tenderness ; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart.†

* “I know the proclamation was *illegal* ; but I advised it because it was *indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine, and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country.*”—*Junius*, ii. 364.

† “No man regards an eruption upon the surface when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart.”—*Ibid.* ii. 153. “I shall only say, give me a healthy, *vigorous constitution*, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my *skin.*”—*Ibid.* i. 311.

his Lordship will lay by the first day, *unless called up* ; because he will wish to hear the arguments

“ He professed himself entirely ignorant of the present state of America, therefore should be cautious of giving any opinion of the measures fit to be pursued with respect to that country. That it was a maxim he had observed through life, when he had lost his way, to stop short, lest by proceeding without knowledge, and advancing (as he feared a noble duke had done) from one false step to another, he should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth, and never be able to recover the right road again. That as the house had yet no materials before them, by which they might judge of the proceedings of the colonies, he strongly objected to their passing that heavy censure upon them, which was conveyed in the word *unwarrantable*, contained in the proposed address. That it was passing a sentence without hearing the cause, or being acquainted with facts, and might expose the proceedings of the house to be received abroad with indifference or disrespect. That if *unwarrantable* meant any thing, it must mean illegal ; and how could their lordships decide that proceedings, which had not been stated to them in any shape, were contrary to law ? That what he had heard of the combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture, had indeed alarmed him much for the commercial interests of the mother country ; but he could not conceive in what sense they could be called illegal, much less how a declaration of that house could remove the evil. That they were *dangerous* indeed, and he greatly wished to have that word substituted for *unwarrantable*. That we must look for other remedies. That the discontent of two millions of people deserved consideration ; and the foundation of it ought to be removed. That this was the true way of putting a stop to combinations and manufactures in that country ; but that he reserved himself to give his opinion more particularly upon this subject, when authentic information of the state of America should be laid before the house ; declaring only for the present, that we should be cautious how we invade the liberties of any part of our fellow subjects however remote in situation, or unable to make resistance. That liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished ; that he loved the tree, and wished well to every branch of it. That, like the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east to west, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.*

* “ They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert.” — Junius, ii. 77.

used, and prepare himself to answer on a subsequent occasion : surrounded by all those guards and

“ That the parts of the address which he had already touched upon, however important in themselves, bore no comparison with that which still remained. That indeed there never was a time, at which the unanimity recommended to them by the King, was more necessary than at present ; but he differed very much from the noble duke, with respect to the propriety or utility of those general assurances contained in the latter part of the address. That the most perfect harmony in that House would have but little effect towards quieting the minds of the people, and removing their discontent. That it was the duty of that House to inquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation, to state those causes to the sovereign, and then to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. That the privileges of the House of Peers, however transcendent, however appropriated to them, stood in fact upon the broad bottom of the people. They were no longer in the condition of the barons, their ancestors, who had separate interests and separate strength to support them. The rights of the greatest and of the meanest subjects now stood upon the same foundation : the security of law, common to all.* It was therefore their highest interest, as well as their duty, to watch over, and guard the people ; for when the people had lost their rights, those of the peerage would soon become insignificant. To argue from experience, he begged leave to refer their lordships to a most important passage in history, described by a man of great abilities, Mr. Robertson. This writer, in his life of Charles the Fifth (a great, ambitious, wicked man), informs us that the peers of Castile were so far cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him in overturning that part of the Cortez, which represented the people. They were weak enough to adopt, and base enough to be flattered with an expectation, that by assisting their master in this iniquitous purpose, they should increase their own strength and importance. What was the consequence ? They exchanged the constitutional authority of peers for the titular vanity of grandees. They were no longer a part of a parliament, for *that* they had destroyed ; and when they pretended to have an opinion as grandees, he told them he did not understand it ; and naturally

* “ However distinguished by rank or property, in the *rights of freedom we are all equal*. The *least considerable man* among us has an interest equal to the proudest *nobleman* in the laws and constitution of his country.”—*Junius*, ii. 113. “ *Every rational man in these kingdoms has as good a right to deliver his opinion on the fundamental principles of the constitution as any peer or commoner.*”—*Sir P. Francis's Essay on the Regency*.

counter guards with which he is sure to defend his opinion, when he suspects it to be odious and unpopular.

enough, when they had surrendered their authority, treated their advice with contempt. The consequences did not stop here. He made use of the people whom he had enslaved to enslave others, and employed the strength of the Castilians to destroy the rights of their free neighbours of Arragon.*

“ My lords, let this example be a lesson to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, that *our* rights stand on a footing different from those of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow-subjects, however mean, however remote ; for be assured, my lords, that in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes from that moment an instrument in the hands of an ambitious prince, to destroy the freedom of others. These reflections, my lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints : they proclaim with one voice the injuries they have received : they demand redress, and depend upon it, my lords, that one way or other, they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity until they are redressed ; nor ought they ; for in my judgment, my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution.† Let me entreat your lordships, then, in the name of all the duties you owe to your sovereign, to your country, and to yourselves, to perform that office to which you are called by the constitution ; by informing his Majesty truly of the condition of his subjects, and of the real cause of their dissatisfaction. I have considered the matter with most serious attention ; and as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought, in our address, to state that matter to the King. I have drawn up an amendment to the

* “ We are the *slaves* of the House of Commons, and *through them*, we are the *slaves* of the king and his ministers.”—*Junius*, iii. 374.

† “ I confess I should be contented to *renounce the forms of the constitution once more*, if there were no other way to obtain substantial justice for the people.”—*Ibid.* ii. 222.

“ We are all in a wilderness about the Chancellor. Yesterday the report was current that he

address, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the house ; namely, “ that after the words ‘ and which alone can render our deliberations respectable and effectual,’ be inserted the words, ‘ and for these great and essential purposes, we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration, the causes of the discontent which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty’s dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, esq. expelled by that house, to be elected a member to serve in this present parliament, thereby refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.’ The cautious and guarded terms in which this amendment is drawn up, will, I hope, reconcile every noble lord who hears me to my opinion ; and as I think no man can dispute the truth of the facts, so I am persuaded no man can dispute the propriety and necessity of laying those facts before his Majesty.”—He was followed by

Lord CAMDEN, who declared he had accepted the seals at first without any conditions. That he meant not therefore to be trammelled by his Majesty’s ministers. That he had suffered himself to be so too long. That for some time he had beheld, with silent indignation, the arbitrary measures that were pursuing by the ministry. That he had often drooped and hung down his head in council, and disapproved by his looks those steps which he knew his avowed opposition could not prevent. That however he would do so no longer, but openly and boldly speak his sentiments. That as to the incapacitating vote, he was of the same opinion with Lord Chatham. That he considered it as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution ; and that if, in giving his decision as a judge, he was to pay any regard to that vote, or any other vote of the House of Commons in opposition to the known and established laws of the land, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust.

Lord MANSFIELD rose ; and as his speech, reported also by Mr. Francis, drew forth a reply from Lord Chatham, it is here given. He began with affirming, that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, nor should he now, notwithstanding any thing that might be expected from him.* That he had locked it up in his own breast, and it should die with him : that he wished to avoid speaking on the subject ;

* “ For my own part, I am not anxious to penetrate this solemn secret. I care not how soon you carry it with you to your grave.” — “ He said in the House of Lords, that he believed he should carry his opinion with him to the grave.”—*Junius*, ii. 179.

was out ; to-day nothing is said about him. I can assure you the petitions were received yesterday,

but that the motion made by the noble Lord, was of a nature too extraordinary and too alarming, to suffer him to be silent. He acknowledged the unhappy distracted state of the nation ; but he was happy enough to affirm, with a safe conscience, that he had no ways contributed to it. That, in his own opinion, declarations of the law made by either house of parliament were always attended with bad effects ; he had constantly opposed them whenever he had an opportunity, and in his judicial capacity thought himself bound never to pay the least regard to them. That, although thoroughly convinced of the illegality of general warrants, which, indeed, naming no persons, were no warrants at all, he was sorry to see the House of Commons by their vote declare them to be illegal. That it looked like a legislative act, which yet had no force nor effect as a law : for, supposing the house had declared them to be legal, the courts in Westminster would nevertheless have been bound to declare the contrary ; and consequently to throw a disrespect upon the vote of the house : but he made a wide distinction between the general declarations of law, and the particular decision which might be made by either house, in their judicial capacity, upon a case coming regularly before them, and properly the subject of their jurisdiction. That here they did not act as legislators, pronouncing abstractedly and generally what the law was, and for the directions of others ; but as judges, drawing the law from the several sources from which it ought to be drawn, for their own guidance in deciding the particular question before them, and applying it strictly to the decision of that question. That, for his own part, wherever the statute law was silent, he knew not where to look for the law of parliament, or for a definition of the privileges of either house, except in the proceedings and decisions of each house respectively. That he knew of no parliamentary code to judge of questions depending upon the judicial authority of parliament, but the practice of each house, moderated or extended according to the wisdom of the house, and accommodated to the cases before them. That a question, touching the seat of a member in the lower house, could only be determined by that house ; there was no other Court where it could be tried, nor to which there could be an appeal from their decision. That wherever a court of justice is supreme, and their sentence final (which he apprehended no man would dispute was the case in the House of Commons, in matters touching elections), the determination of that court must be received and submitted to as the law of the land ; for if there be no appeal from a judicial sentence, where shall that sentence be questioned, or how can it be reversed ? He admitted that judges might be corrupt, and their sentences erroneous ; but these were

with an unusually smiling countenance. His Majesty will have a grand train of weavers attend him

cases, for which, in respect to supreme courts, the constitution had provided no remedy. That, if they wilfully determined wrong, it was iniquitous indeed, and in the highest degree detestable. But it was a crime, of which no human tribunal could take cognizance, and it lay between God and their consciences. That he avoided entering into the merits of the late decision of the House of Commons, because it was a subject he was convinced the lords had no right to inquire into, or discuss. That the amendment proposed by the noble lord threatened the most pernicious consequences to the nation, as it manifestly violated every form and law of parliament, was a gross attack upon the privileges of the House of Commons, and, instead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, must inevitably throw the whole country into a flame.* That there never was an instance of the Lords inquiring into the proceedings of the House of Commons with respect to their own members; much less of their taking upon them to censure such proceedings, or of their advising the Crown to take notice of them. If, indeed, it be the noble lord's design to quarrel with the House of Commons, I confess it will have that effect, and immediately. The lower house will undoubtedly assert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. I leave it, therefore, to your lordships, to consider the fatal effects which may arise in such a conjuncture as the present, either from an open breach between the two houses of parliament, or between the King and the House of Commons. But, my lords, if I could suppose it were even advisable to promote a disagreement between the two houses I would still recommend it to you to take care to be in the right: whenever I am forced into a quarrel, I will always endeavour to have justice on my side. Now, my lords, admitting the House of Commons to have done wrong, will it mend the matter for your lordships to do ten times worse? And that I am clearly convinced would be the case, if your lordships were obliged to declare any opinion of your own, or offer any advice to the Crown, on a matter in which, by the constitution of this country, you have no right whatever to interfere. I will go farther, my lords; I will affirm, that such a step would be as ineffectual as it would be irregular. Suppose the King, in consequence of our advice, should dissolve the parliament (for that, I presume, is the true object of the noble lord's amendment), the next House of Commons

* "The first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America which has since *thrown the whole continent into a flame*."—*Junius*, iii. 185. "I can remember the time when an attempt of this nature would have *thrown the whole kingdom into a flame*."—*Sir P. Francis, Parl. Deb.* xvi. 228.

to the house. A gentleman from Spitalfields this moment tells me the word is already gone through that part of the town, for a holiday on Tuesday."

that meets, if they know any thing of their own privileges, or the laws of this country, will undoubtedly, on the very first day of the session, take notice of our proceedings, and declare them to be a violation of the rights of the commons. They must do so, my lords ; or they will shamefully betray their constituents and themselves. A noble lord (Marchmont) near me, has proposed that we should demand a conference with the other house. It would be a more moderate step, I confess, but equally ineffectual. The Commons would never submit to discuss their own privileges with the Lords. They would not come to a conference upon such a subject ; or if they did come, they would soon break it up with indignation. If, then, the Commons have done wrong, I know of no remedy, but either that the same power should undo the mischief they have done, or that the case should be provided for by an act of the legislature. That, indeed, might be effectual. But whether such a remedy be proper or necessary in the present case, or whether, indeed, it be attainable, considering that the other House must give their consent to it, is not a question now before us. If such a bill should be proposed, it will be regular and parliamentary, and we may then, with propriety, enter into the legal merits of the decision of the House of Commons. As for the amendment proposed by the noble lord, I object to it as irregular and unparliamentary. I am persuaded that it will be attended with very pernicious consequences to this country, and that it cannot possibly produce a single good one."

The Earl of CHATHAM. "My lords, there is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life : that in every question, in which my liberty, or my property were concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense.* I confess, my lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinements of learning, because I have seen the ablest and the most learned men equally liable to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity

* "It is a point of fact on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As for lawyers, I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question." -- Junius, i. 498.

A letter is just arrived from Lord Granby, to desire he may see me to-morrow afternoon ; at

of common sense*, a rule for our direction, by which we shall never be misled. I confess, my lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment, which I submitted to your consideration ; and before I heard the opinion of the noble lord who spoke last, I did not conceive that it was even within the limits of possibility for the greatest human genius, the most subtle understanding, or the acutest wit, so strangely to misrepresent any meaning, and to give it an interpretation so entirely foreign from what I intended to express, and from that sense which the very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly carry with them. If there be the smallest foundation for the censure thrown upon me by that noble lord, if, either expressly, or by the most distant implication, I have said or insinuated any part of what the noble lord has charged me with, discard my opinions for ever, discard the motion with contempt.

“ My lords, I must beg the indulgence of the House. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified, to follow that learned lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I have.† I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other house, and always listened to him with attention. I have not now lost a word of what he said ; nor did I ever. On the present question I meet him without fear. The evidence which truth carries with it, is superior to all argument ; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition, of the greatest abilities. If there be a single word in the amendment to justify the interpretation which the noble lord has been pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole : let it be read, my Lords ; let it speak for itself. [It was read. — In what instance does it interfere with the privileges of the House of Commons ? In what respect does it question their jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this house to arraign the justice of their sentence ? I am sure that every lord who hears me will bear me witness, that I said not one word touching the merits of the Middlesex

* “ This proposition turns upon a refinement very distant from the *simplicity of common sense*.”—*Junius*, iii. 165. “Without pretending to reconcile the distinctions of Westminster Hall with the *simple information of common sense*.”—*Ibid.* ii. 176.

† “ *When I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am sincere.*”—*Ibid.* ii. 181. “Junius never pretends to be a better lawyer than Lord Mansfield ; on the contrary, he takes every opportunity to acknowledge his superior learning and abilities.”—iii. 430.

which time he comes up to Knightsbridge, and it will give me pleasure to convey any commands of

election : so far from conveying any opinion upon that matter in the amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver my own sentiments upon it. I did not say that the House of Commons had done either right or wrong ; but, when his Majesty was pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongst ourselves, I thought it the duty of this house, as the great hereditary council of the Crown, to state to his Majesty the distracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had destroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my lords, I stated those events merely as facts, without the smallest addition either of censure or of opinion. They are facts, my lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my lords, will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his Majesty's dominions ? or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the House of Commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes ? It is impossible : no man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right ? Is it not indisputably true, my lords, that Mr. Wilkes had a common right, and that he lost it no other way but by a resolution of the House of Commons ? My lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the House of Commons. I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their own resolution. Do they not tell us, in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes, having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in that parliament ? and is not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right ? The amendment says farther, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this a false fact, my lords, or have I given an unfair representation of it ? Will any man presume to affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex ? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either praise or censure) was the favourite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in parliament. If the noble Lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substances be preserved ; and these are facts, my lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance, in whatever form of language they are described.

“ Now, my lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity, and having, as I hope,

your Lordship's ; in particular, such as may aid his conduct at this crisis.

redeemed myself in the opinion of the House, having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble lord, I must a little longer intreat your lordships' indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact ; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended on principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, which no man may question, and to which all men must submit ? My lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded : and, when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My lords, I beg to be understood ; no man respects the House of Commons more than I do or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well-being of the people : beyond that line, every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal ; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power without right* is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination : it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend (Lord Lyttelton) has truly described it, *Res detestabilis et caduca*.† My lords, I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the House of Commons. It is for their own sake that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, lest, by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess.‡ My lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their constituents, and violated the consti-

* " You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right."—*Junius*, i. 384. " It is a power without right, and a daring violation of the whole English laws of bail."—*Ibid.* ii. 419. " The worst of instruments that have ever been employed by power without right"—*Sir P. Francis's Speech*, March 7, 1786.

† Sir Philip Francis quotes this sentence in his *Essay on the Regency*, and says, — " I heard it from Lord Chatham."

‡ " In my opinion, you grasp at the impossible, and lose the really attainable."—*Junius*, i. 282.

Fame says nothing is to be done the first day in the Commons relative to the Speech and Address,

tution.* Under pretence of declaring the law, they have *made* a law, and united in the same persons the office of legislator and of judge.†

“I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to the noble lord’s doctrine, which it is indeed impossible to mistake, so far as my memory will permit me to preserve his expressions. He seems fond of the word ‘jurisdiction;’ and I confess, with the force and effect which he has given it, is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his lordship’s doctrine be well founded, we must renounce all those political maxims by which our understandings have hitherto been directed, and even the first elements of learning taught us in our schools when we were school-boys. My lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *jus discere*; we knew that *legem facere* and *legem discere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution; but now, it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction; and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as *ipso facto*, the law of the land.‡ My lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England.§ By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, however, of the English laws, are still sufficiently clear: they are founded in reason, and are the master-piece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of parliament is to be found; that the House of Commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong, the subject has

* “Their rights have been *arbitrarily invaded by the present House of Commons, and the constitution betrayed.*”—*Junius*, ii. 88.

† “*Legislation and jurisdiction are united in the same persons.*”—*Ibid.* ii. 237.—“This tribunal unites in the same persons the verdict, the explanation of the law, and the sentence.”—*Sir P. Francis’s Speech*, March 7, 1786.

‡ “You have maintained that the *House of Commons* are the sole judges of their own privileges, and that their declaration does, *ipso facto*, constitute the law of parliament.”—*Junius*, ii. 240.

§ “Is this the law of parliament, or is it not? *I am a plain man*, Sir.”—*Ibid.* ii. 239. “Suffer me then, for *I am a plain unlettered man.*”—*Ibid.* i. 440.

but a day moved for going into the state of the nation. Of this, Lord Temple will give your

no appeal but to Heaven.* What then, my lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure themselves, and to transmit to their posterity a known law, a certain rule of living; reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a King, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my lords, this is not the fact, this is not the constitution; we *have* a law of parliament, we *have* a code in which every honest man may find it. We have a Magna Charta, we have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights.†

“If a case should arise unknown to these great authorities, we have still that plain English reason left, which is the foundation of all our English jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that every judicial court, and every political society, must be vested with those powers and privileges which are necessary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us also, that no court of justice can have a power inconsistent with, or paramount to, the known laws of the land; that the people, when they choose their representatives, never mean to convey to them a power of invading the rights, or trampling upon the liberties, of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a court of judicature might determine every question that came before it, not by any known, positive law, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble lord is pleased to call the wisdom of the court?‡ With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law; that they are submitted

* “*The House of Commons judge of their own privileges without appeal.*”—*Junius*, iii. 374.

† “*This doctrine is not to be found in Magna Charta.*”—*Ibid.* iii. 374. “*The people will surrender every thing rather than submit to be trampled on by five hundred of their equals.*”—*Ibid.* iii. 379. “*You will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves.*”—*Ibid.* i. 346.

‡ “*The judge, instead of strictly consulting the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court.*”—*Ibid.* ii. 164.

Lordship the best information. I am always, with true respect,

Your Lordship's most affectionate
and faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

to, without reluctance, by the people; that they are unquestioned by the legislature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation); and what, in my judgment, is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the constitution. My lords, this is not a vague or loose expression: we all know what the constitution is; we all know that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (less than the whole legislature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand. Now, my lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the House of Commons upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent; for the case of Sir Robert Walpole is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect.* Incapacity was indeed declared, but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established.† It contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, by which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that elections of members to serve in parliament shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures, and adopted the most positive language to express their discontent. Whether it will be questioned by the legislature, will depend upon your lordships' resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the constitution‡, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country; yet, if we are to believe the noble lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first

* "No part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given together. The author has *divided his precedent*."—*Junius*, i. 555.

† "Mr. Walpole's *incapacity* arose from the *crimes* he had committed."—*Ibid.* i. 556.

‡ "He violates the spirit of the constitution."—*Ibid.* i. 382.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

[In the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

Hayes, Sunday, January 7, 1770.

LORD CHATHAM desires to return Mr. Calcraft a thousand thanks for the favour of his letter, and

principles of the constitution*, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven. My lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this house. It is *your* ancestors, my lords, — it is to the English barons that we are indebted for the laws and constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

“ My lords, I think, that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, These are the rights of the great barons, or these are rights of the great prelates: — No, my lords; they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts of free men. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all; they deserve to be remembered — they deserve to be inculcated in our minds — they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days), were the guardians of the people; yet *their* virtues, my lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution — the battlements are dismantled — the citadel is open to the first invader — the walls totter — the constitution

* “ When I see *the first principles of the constitution openly violated*.” — Junius, i. 479.

hopes, as Lord Temple is just come in, he will excuse his answering only with a few lines. With

is not tenable. What remains then, but for *us* to stand foremost in the breach, to repair it or perish in it?

“Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the consequences of a difference between the two houses of parliament; that the House of Commons will resent our presuming to take notice of their proceedings; that they will resent our daring to advise the Crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the state. My lords, I am sensible of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis: at a moment, such as this, we are called upon to our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most — the representative, or the collective body of the people. My lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause, they deserve to be slaves! My lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks*; I know I speak warmly, my lords; but this warmth shall neither betray my argument nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame. As mediators between the King and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing; and whenever his Majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to inquire more minutely into the causes of the present discontents. Whenever that inquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the house to prove, that since the first institution of the House of Commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend (the Lord Chancellor) has pledged himself to the house, that he will support that assertion.

“My lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried: I mean the House of Commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude: with the other the vilest incendiary. For my own part

* The *formality of a well repeated lesson* is widely different from the *animated expression of the heart*.” Junius, ii. 124.—“The subject comes home to us all. *It is the language of my heart*.” ii. 344.

regard to reports about my Lord Chancellor, he has heard nothing more since he last had the

I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and, God forbid, my lords, that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land! * I believe, my lords, I shall not be suspected of any personal partiality to this unhappy man: I am not very conversant in pamphlets or newspapers; but, from what I have heard and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my share in the compliments which have come from that quarter; and as for motives of ambition (for I must take to myself a part of the noble duke's insinuation), I believe, my lords, there have been times in which I have had the honour of standing in such favour in the closet, that there must have been something extravagantly unreasonable in my wishes if they might not *all* have been gratified; after neglecting those opportunities, I am now suspected of coming forward in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so; there is one ambition at least which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors.† I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England.‡ In what manner this house may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require and admit of, is not at present the subject of our consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an inquiry. That inquiry may, perhaps, point out the necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead us, perhaps

* “*For my own part, I am proud to affirm, that if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship I would never have been base enough to betray it. But let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this is at least certain, that circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner.*” *Junius*, i. 460, 461.

† “*We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights which they have delivered to our care; we owe it to our posterity not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed.*” i. 563.

‡ “*This is not the cause of faction or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain.*” i. 343. Sir Philip Francis has placed this sentence at the head of his *Essay on the Regency*.

pleasure of seeing Mr. Calcraft. He begs to trouble him with his warmest, most affectionate, and re-

to desire a conference with the other house; which one noble lord affirms is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble lord assures us the House of Commons would either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their lordships to reconcile that matter between themselves, I shall only say, that before we have inquired, we cannot be provided with materials, consequently we are not at present prepared for a conference.

“It is possible, my lords, that the inquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his Majesty to dissolve the present parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His Majesty will then determine, whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the House of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the House of Lords, and overturned the monarchy.* I willingly acquit the present House of Commons of having actually formed so detestable a design; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my Lords, that where law ends, tyranny begins!” †

The amendment was negatived. After which the House divided on the original motion, contents 203, not contents 36. The not contents were, the Dukes of Richmond, Portland, Manchester, and Northumberland; the Marquis of Rockingham; the Earls of Suffolk, Stamford, Abingdon, Scarborough, Albemarle, Tankerville, Aylesford, Effingham, Buckinghamshire, Fitzwilliam, Temple, Radnor, Chatham; Viscount Torrington; and Lords Abergavenny, Byron, Craven, Hyde, Ponsonby, Lyttelton, Wycombe (Shelburne), Grosvenor, Milton, Camden, Boyle, Trevor, King, Monson, Chedworth, Fortescue, and Sondes. Lord Rockingham then moved, That the Lords should be summoned for the morrow, as he had a proposal of national importance to make; upon which Lord Pomfret moved an adjournment of a week; Lord Temple said

* “*They have strictly followed the example of the long parliament which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after with as little ceremony dissolved the House of Lords.*” Junius, ii. 83.

† “*Who will answer for their future moderation. Your Majesty may learn hereafter how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.*” ii. 84.

spectful compliments to the Marquis of Granby, and just mentions, for Mr. Calcraft's judgment, whether the proposing a refreshing interview between the Marquis and my Lord Chancellor might not be a good measure.

Abundance of acknowledgments for the good wishes expressed on account of health, which is at least as well as the other day, and promises very fair for being in London on Tuesday; which Lord Chatham would be sure to be if the change was even on the worse side instead of being on the better, as it now is. Lord Temple presents his best compliments; to which the holder of the present hasty pen desires to add her own.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

[In Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Monday morning, 8 o'clock.

[January 8, 1770.]

LORD CHATHAM cannot omit sending a line to Mr. Calcraft, to let him know that he finds, with

the House well knew for what purpose the adjournment was required; it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord who sat on the woolsack, and supply his place with some obsequious lawyer, who would do as he was commanded. Lord Shelburne observed that, after the dismissal of the present worthy chancellor, the seals would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered.

much concern, no measures taken for action in the House of Commons on the Speech, but rather on the contrary; for Mr. Grenville's opinion, as Lord Temple informs him, very unfortunately happens to be not to meddle with the Address. Lord Chatham has expressed very strongly to Lord Temple his apprehensions that this plan, if followed, will have every possible ill consequence. Lord Temple seems now convinced of this, and is going to London this morning; where he means to use endeavours, that some proper words of addition to the Address should be moved in the House of Commons, to engage debate. What his success will be is uncertain. In the House of Lords some words will certainly be moved, though no concert is yet taken for that purpose.

Notwithstanding all report, the opinion at Hayes is, that Lord Chancellor will not be removed; and he certainly will not have the unpardonable weakness to resign in such a crisis. His Lordship is firm, and in the rightest resolutions. Lord Chatham entertains not the least doubt that Mr. Calcraft will find Lord Granby in the same dispositions. The expectation of the public was never more fixed upon two great men than upon the Marquis and Lord Camden. Lord Chatham trusts he shall see Westminster once more to-morrow.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, Monday, January 8, 1770.

MR. CALCRAFT cannot omit returning his warmest thanks for the honour of Lord Chatham's letter. He has seen Lord Granby, who goes to the Chancellor's (by an appointment of Lord Granby's asking) this morning. His Lordship seems very properly disposed, and I hope Lord Chancellor will fix him to take his part to-day, if an opportunity arises in the course of the debate. Except the common invitation to hear the Speech read at Lord North's, he has had no correspondence with ministers.

Mr. Grenville sent word to the Thatched-house, that he would try to muster spirits to come down to parliament to-day, and words of amendment are to be moved.⁽¹⁾ The Thatched-house meeting was very well: eighty members present, twenty whereof fresh ones. The Cock-pit meeting was a very moderate one; one hundred and seventy-nine only. Mr. Calcraft ardently hopes Lord Chatham will not be the worse for the fatigue of this day.

(¹) The Address was strongly opposed in the House of Commons; and an amendment, "That the House would take into consideration the causes of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of his Majesty's dominions," was moved by Mr. Dowdeswell, but rejected by 254 against 138. Lord Granby supported the amendment; and stated, that he should always lament the vote he had given on a former occasion, as the greatest misfortune of his life.

Words cannot express the universal comfort his Lordship's appearance gives, or the hopes derived therefrom. Old Clive ⁽¹⁾ dined at the Thatched-house, and went from thence to the Cock-pit.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Monday night, 8 o'clock.

[January 15, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM this instant returned from Calcraft's. Lord Granby is there. The King, it seems, and the Duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby, not to resign. He remained to the Duke of Grafton inflexible as to that, but has yielded for twenty-four hours. Calcraft does most earnestly wish, and so do I, that you may take the trouble of writing either to Lord Granby himself or to Calcraft, your opinion and warm desire that his Lordship may to-morrow morning go to the Queen's house, desire to see the King, and carry into execution what had been so much better done yesterday.

Lord Roos is come up from the Duke of Rutland ; who sends Lord Granby word that he has his fullest approbation, and that his conduct upon this occasion endears him more than ever to his father. The ministry live upon moments. Can you your-

⁽¹⁾ Richard Clive, Esq., father of Lord Clive. He died in the following year.

self come to town to-morrow, to see and fix the Duke of Newcastle? Heaven and earth are in motion ; but I am, most firmly and affectionately, Yours and yours, &c. &c.

TEMPLE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

[In Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, Monday night, 10 o'clock.
[January 15, 1770.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I WRITE, without a hand, to tell you that my solicitude is extreme, and full of the most real pain, till I hear that the Marquis of Granby has carried into execution a resolution worthy of himself, and that will fix for ever the dignity of his future public life, and go farther than any other thing to awaken the King into a just sense of this perilous moment. I honour to veneration the unshaken determination of the Marquis's mind, but I own I grieve that generosity of nature has melted him enough to grant twenty-four hours' respite to a minister's entreaties ; to be numbered with whom (though but for a day longer) may be essentially useful to him, but must be irksome, and may be dangerous, in various constructions, to the Marquis, on whom every eye is fixed.

I feel how infinitely too much I presume on his

Lordship's indulgence to me, when I venture to request him, with the most earnest and faithful entreaties, not to suffer his noble nature to be led into *the snares of delay*, or give to his enemies (if he can have one) a handle to lessen the lustre of his proceeding, and ascribe (though unjustly) a reluctant hesitation to an act of the most manly and noble decision. Full as my heart is of the kingdom's extreme danger and of Lord Granby's true honour and dignity, I will, through you, venture to advise and almost to conjure his Lordship to cut at once the cobweb-pleas for time, urged by a hard-pressed minister, to whom moments may be safety. My most respectful and warmly affectionate advice therefore is, that Lord Granby should demand an audience at the Queen's house to-morrow, and then and there absolutely and finally resign the ordnance and the command of the army. Ever, my dear 'Sir,

Affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, January 15, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD GRANBY is this moment come in here, and by his Lordship's permission I take the opportunity of informing you, that at the most pressing request of the Duke of Grafton (after using every

argument to persuade against resignation), he has postponed waiting upon the King till Wednesday, when he remains determined to resign the army and ordnance. Lord Granby sends his most affectionate compliments to your Lordship, and hopes, with me, your gout is not worse. The Duke of Newcastle is in town, and will wait upon your Lordship when you come to Pall Mall. I always am, most unalterably and faithfully, yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

January 16, 1770, near six.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

My friend⁽¹⁾ has done his part, and quitted the bed-chamber. The letter from Calcraft will speak for Lord Granby. Knowing he had not done the deed and was to dine with Calcraft, immediately upon the receipt of your letter, at my return from the House of Lords, I wrote to the latter such an epistle as he might show to his guest, asking what news I was to send to Hayes concerning his Lordship. The enclosed answer, meant for your Lord, and directed to me, I have this

(¹) George William, sixth Earl of Coventry. His lordship had been lord of the bed-chamber to George the Second, and was continued in that office by the new monarch. He died in 1806, in his eighty-seventh year.

moment received. The Duke of Beaufort has resigned, in consequence of a dispute with the Morgans. Lord Bristol has the key. It is said Lord Egmont is to be privy seal, but he does not own it. I was with Lord Shelburne this morning, who gave me most perfect satisfaction. It is said, or much suspected at least, that Yorke will be chancellor. Every thing has passed very amicably betwixt Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Richmond, and me. The consequence is, that we have had a most glorious day. Every thing was settled as your Lord wished, with regard to our operations. When Lord Rockingham gave notice, and desired the House might be summoned for Wednesday, Lord Weymouth proposed to adjourn till Monday. At the desire of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham, next to whom I sat, I led the van of the combined army, and most handsomely has the court been trimmed. The Duke of Bolton drew up the rear. In short, we divided ; the Chancellor, from modesty I suppose, against us ; but we were nineteen, including four new lords ; viz. Duke of Bolton, Lord Coventry, Lord Romney, and Lord Willoughby. The Duke of Grafton did wretchedly. On Monday we mean to propose to go into the state of the nation on Tuesday. The Speaker is ill, and it is very doubtful whether they can go on in the House of Commons.⁽¹⁾ Lord Suffolk, Lord Shelburne, and

(1) Sir John Cust resigned the chair on the 17th, and died on the morning of the 22d. Sir Fletcher Norton was chosen Speaker in his stead.

the Duke of Richmond did exceedingly well, and the Duke of Bolton most wonderfully. In short, all goes well enough. The Chancellor still holds on; which I hold to be candidly foolish.⁽¹⁾ The Lord deliver you from gout and all other evils! With every good wish, &c. &c.

TEMPLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, January 16, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter late last night: so kind, so able, so noble too, was the style of it, that I cannot forbear to express my feelings thereupon. I did not fail to communicate these manly sentiments to Lord Granby, who was exceedingly affected with them, and though his Lordship could not prevail on himself to press the audience at Buckingham House to-day, he assures me of his firmness in the closet to-morrow, and that no persuasion shall make him depart from the execution of those resolutions he made in your

(¹) On the following day, Lord Camden received a message from the secretary of state's office, desiring, in the King's name, that he would deliver up the seals that evening at seven o'clock; which he accordingly did into his Majesty's own hands.

Lordship's presence on Sunday, and still adheres to, both for the sake of his own honour and his country.

Lord Roos is just come from Belvoir Castle, where he left the Duke of Rutland in raptures at the part Lord Granby has taken. My Lord sent a servant yesterday to inform his Grace of what is to follow to-morrow, and says it will be a satisfaction to receive his father's approbation (which he is sure of) before he executes, though nothing could or should alter his intention; and, indeed, the Duke of Rutland's eagerness in the cause of the constitution is not to be described. I can assure your Lordship, from good authority, that Mr. Yorke has refused the seals. I am with the utmost respect,

Your Lordship's

most obliged, affectionate,

and faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday night, January 17, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AGAIN take my pen, which I can hardly use, to return you a thousand thanks for your obliging letter, in a moment of the most anxious expectation, concerning an event the most interesting to all my public and private wishes. The assurances renewed

to me so kindly by Lord Granby's goodness, on this important article, put my heart enough at ease to sleep to-night upon the hope of to-morrow; a pillow which I may well lay my anxieties to rest upon for one *long night*. May this great to-morrow fix my hopes, that the country may yet be saved, and give me the happy certainty that the name of Granby will be as revered by the friends of the constitution, as it is honoured and feared by the nation's enemies in the field! I beg you will be so good as to present my respectful and affectionate compliments to the Marquis, with many acknowledgments for his goodness in pardoning my too free, but most sincere sentiments.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Yorke's refusal is of moment; and I can readily believe it, from my opinion of his prudence and discernment. No man with a grain of either would embark in a rotten vessel in the middle of a tempest, to go he knows not whither. I wish our noble and amiable Chancellor had not been so candid as to drag the great seal for one hour at the heels of a desperate minister, after he had hawked them about with every circumstance of indignity to the holder of them.⁽²⁾ I am not without

(1) On the morning of this day, the Marquis of Granby resigned all his situations, except his regiment of Blues.

(2) In the course of this day, Mr. Yorke was appointed Lord Chancellor, and a patent was ordered to be made out, creating him a peer, by the title of Baron Morden, but it was not completed before his death; which took place three days after he had received the great seal.

hopes of being able to get to London to-morrow ; but my state is too precarious to fix overnight. A thousand thanks to you, my dear Sir, for the corrected list, where additional names of credit appear, and a thousand times good night from, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and affectionate

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, Saturday, 4 o'clock.

[January 20, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I CAN from authority assure your Lordship, that General Conway has refused the ordnance, adding that he will take none of Lord Granby's spoils. Lord Chatham's conference has had great weight with the Duke of Newcastle, and it looks as if he would, after a little more consideration, embark with us ; but he did not to-day decide.

The Chancellor is very dangerously ill. Sir Jeffrey Amherst is gone out of town, as I hear, without any positive answer, and much dissatisfied. Don't be surprised to find the Duke of Grafton's ground at court but tender. Sir Percy Brett and Sir George Yonge have both resigned, by letter to the Duke of York, this morning, after telling Sir Edward Hawke they

thought it for the honour of Lord Chatham and their country's quiet. I am, &c.

J. CALCRAFT.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On Tuesday, the 22d of January, the Marquis of Rockingham moved, in the House of Lords, "That the House will take into consideration the state of the nation on Thursday next." The speeches of the Duke of Grafton and of Lord Chatham upon this occasion were first printed by Almon, in 1792, from a report taken by Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The parallel passages, contained in JUNIUS, are also here continued. After the motion had been opposed by the Duke of Grafton*,

"The Earl of Chatham said, — "My Lords, I meant to have risen immediately to second the motion made by the noble lord. The charge which the noble duke seemed to think affected himself particularly, did undoubtedly demand an early answer; it was proper he should speak before me, and I am as ready as any man to applaud the decency and propriety with which he has expressed himself.

" "I entirely agree with the noble lord, both in the necessity of your Lordships concurring with the motion, and in the principles and arguments by which he has very judiciously supported it. I see clearly that the complexion of our government has been materially altered; and I can trace the origin of the alteration up to a period which ought to have been an era of happiness and prosperity to this country.

" "My Lords, I shall give you my reasons for concurring with the motion, not methodically, but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall say nothing but what may deserve your attention, and what, if not strictly proper at present, would be fit to be said, when the state of the nation shall come to be considered. My uncertain state of health must plead my excuse. I am now in some pain, and very probably may not be able to attend my duty when I desire it most, in this house. I thank God, my Lords, for having thus long preserved so inconsiderable a being as I am, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm the constitution.

* "Sir PHILIP heard the debate and took notes of the Duke's speech in January 1770. At the end of that year JUNIUS, mentioning his Grace's "talent for speaking in public," says, "I have often had the honour of hearing him." — *Junius Identified*, p. 322.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE COUNTESS
OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Wednesday morning,
12 o'clock, January 24, 1770.

MADAM,

I AM much concerned at Lord Chatham's indisposition, and shall certainly try to put off the

“ ‘ My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the state. The constitution has been grossly violated — the constitution at this moment stands violated. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament ; in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, that their enquiries shall be redressed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity — if not — MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOREVER.* I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming ; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the King's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on, according to the forms, and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner ; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth-right to a despotic minister, I hope my Lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government.*† My Lord, this is not the

* “ ‘ Let the war take its course ; ’ or, as I heard Lord Chatham declare in the House of Lords, with a monarch's voice, ‘ *Let discord prevail for ever.* ’ ” — *Sir Philip Francis on Paper Currency.*

† “ The time is come when the body of the English people must assert their own cause : conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not *surrender their birth-right to ministers, parliaments, or kings.* ” — *Junius*, ii. 115. “ *If this last resource should fail us, our next and latest appeal must be made to Heaven.* ” — *Ibid.* iii. 165.

business in the House of Lords for some days. My attention to Lord Chatham inclines me much

language of faction ; let it be tried by that criterion by which alone we can distinguish what is factious from what is not — by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles ; and know, that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I should follow the example set us by the most reverend bench, with whom I believe it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, to appeal at once to the greatest source and evidence of our religion — I mean the Holy Bible : the constitution has its political bible, by which, if it be fairly consulted, every political question may, and ought to be, determined. Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights, form that code which I call the Bible of the English Constitution.* Had some of his Majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the comments of their ministers ; had they been better read in the text itself, the glorious revolution would have remained only possible in theory, and would not now have existed upon record a formidable example to their successors.

“ My Lords, I cannot agree with the noble duke that nothing less than an immediate attack upon the honour or interest of this nation can authorise us to interpose in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprises of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish policy has prevailed in our councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers less able than we are to make a resistance, we have permitted them to increase their strength, we have lost the most favourable opportunities of opposing them with success ; and found ourselves at last obliged to run every hazard, in making that cause our own, in which we were not wise enough to take part while the expense and danger might have been supported by others. — With respect to Corsica, I shall only say, that France has obtained a more useful and important acquisition in one *pacific* campaign than in any of her *belligerent* campaigns ; at least while I had the honour of administering the war against her.† The

* The civil constitution too, that legal liberty, that general *creed*, which every Englishman professes, may still be supported, though Wilkes, &c., should obstinately refuse to *communicate*, and even if the *fathers of the church*, if Savile, &c., should disagree in the ceremonies of their *political worship*, and even in the interpretation of *twenty texts in Magna Charta*.” — *Junius*, ii. 346.

† “ Either we suffer the French to make an *acquisition* the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we find ourselves *principals in the war*, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might originally have been obtained without *expense or danger*.” — *Ibid.* i. 489, 490.

to this delay ; besides that my own indisposition at present would render me very unequal to that part

word may, perhaps, be thought singular : I mean only while I was the minister chiefly entrusted with the conduct of the war. I remember, my Lords, the time when Lorraine was united to the crown of France ; that too was, in some measure, a pacific conquest ; and there were people who talked of it, as the noble duke now speaks of Corsica. France was permitted to take and keep possession of a noble province ; and, according to his Grace's ideas, we did right in not opposing it. The effect of these acquisitions, is, I confess, not immediate ; but they unite with the main body by degrees, and, in time, make a part of the national strength. I fear, my Lords, it is too much the temper of this country to be insensible of the approach of danger until it comes with accumulated terror upon us.

“ ‘ My Lords, the condition of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your Lordships' enquiry. I am not sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so fully as I could wish ; but by what appears to the public, and from my own observation, I confess I cannot give the ministry much credit for the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see, that even where their measures are well chosen, they are incapable of carrying them through without some unhappy mixture of weakness or imprudence.—They are incapable of doing entirely right.* My Lords, I do, from my conscience, and from the best weighed principles of my understanding, applaud the augmentation of the army. As a military plan, I believe it has been judiciously arranged. In a political view, I am convinced it was for the welfare, for the safety of the whole empire. But, my Lords, with all these advantages, with all these recommendations, if I had the honour of advising his Majesty, I would never have consented to his accepting the augmentation, with that absurd dishonourable condition which the ministry have submitted to annex to it. My Lords, I revere the just prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally support each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The expression, perhaps, is too light ; but since I have made use of it, let me add, that the entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is the royal prerogative, as the master-feather in the eagle's wing ; and if I were permitted to carry the allusion a little farther, I would say, they have disarmed the imperial bird, the “ *ministerium fulminis alitem*. ” The army

* “ It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. ” — *Junius*, i. 480.

of the business which I have undertaken. It will be necessary, however, for me to see several lords, and I hope there will be no objection.

is the thunder of the crown. — The ministry have tied up the hand which should direct the bolt.*

“ ‘ My Lords, I remember that Minorca was lost for want of four battalions. They could not be spared from hence ; and there was a delicacy about taking them from Ireland. I was one of those who promoted an enquiry into that matter in the other house ; and I was convinced we had not regular troops sufficient for the necessary service of the nation. Since the moment the plan of augmentation was first talked of, I have constantly and warmly supported it among my friends : I have recommended it to several members of the Irish House of Commons, and exhorted them to support it with their utmost interest in parliament. I did not foresee, nor could I conceive it possible, the ministry would accept of it, with a condition that makes the plan itself ineffectual, and, as far as it operates, defeats every useful purpose of maintaining a standing military force. His Majesty is now so confined by his promise, that he must leave twelve thousand men locked up in Ireland, let the situation of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger to this country, be ever so alarming, unless there be an actual rebellion, or invasion, in Great Britain. Even in the two cases excepted by the King’s promise, the mischief must have already begun to operate, must have already taken effect, before his Majesty can be authorised to send for the assistance of his Irish army. He has not left himself the power of taking any preventive measures, let his intelligence be ever so certain, let his apprehensions of invasion or rebellion be ever so well-founded : unless the traitor be actually in arms ; unless the enemy be in the heart of your country, he cannot move a single man from Ireland.

“ ‘ I feel myself compelled, my Lords, to return to that subject which occupies and interests me most ; I mean the internal disorder of the constitution, and the remedy it demands. But first, I would observe, there is one point upon which I think the noble duke has not explained himself. I do not mean to catch at words, but, if possible, to possess the sense of what I hear. I would treat every man with candour, and should expect the same candour in return. For the noble duke, in

* “ The ministry are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people.” — “ The king’s honour is that of the people. Their real honour and interest are the same.” — “ The feather that adorns the regal bird supports its flight : strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.” — Junius, ii. 194.

I shall have the honour of writing to your Ladyship again this evening after I have been at

particular, I have every personal respect and regard. I never desire to understand him but as he wishes to be understood. His Grace, I think, has laid much stress upon the diligence of the several public officers, and the assistance given them by the administration, in preparing a state of the expenses of his Majesty's civil government, for the information of parliament, and for the satisfaction of the public. He has given us a number of plausible reasons for their not having yet been able to finish the account; but, as far as I am able to recollect, he has not yet given us the smallest reason to hope, that it ever will be finished; or that it ever will be laid before parliament.

“My Lords, I am not unpractised in business. and if, with with all that apparent diligence, and all that assistance which the noble Duke speaks of, the accounts in question have not yet been made up, I am convinced there must be a defect in some of the public offices, which ought to be strictly inquired into, and severely punished. But, my Lords, the waste of the public money is not of itself so important as the pernicious purpose to which we have reason to suspect that money has been applied. For some years past, there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist. My Lords, not saying but what is within the knowledge of us all, the corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprise of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution*, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done. I shall offer my thoughts, such as they are, to the consideration of the House; and I wish that every noble lord who hears me would be as ready as I am to contribute his

* “It assuredly will be the only support of every *barrier raised in defence of the constitution.*”—*Junius*, i. 284.

the House of Lords, and of informing Lord Chatham to what day next week the business is deferred. I

opinion to this important service. I will not call my own sentiments crude and indigested ; it would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your Lordships, which I had not well considered ; and this subject, I own, has long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your Lordships without reserve.

“ ‘ Whoever understands the theory of the English constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country ; we must reduce our political practice, as nearly as possible, to our principles. The constitution intended that there should be a permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people. Will any man affirm, that, as the House of Commons is now formed, that relation is in any degree preserved ? My Lords, it is not preserved, it is destroyed. Let us be cautious, however, how we have recourse to violent expedients.

“ ‘ The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into any invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death.*

“ ‘ Let us try, my Lords, whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution, as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases.†

“ ‘ The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greatest cities is upon a footing equally respectable ; and there are many of the larger trading towns, which

* As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown ; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions in regard to the remedy you propose. I confess to you I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation.”—“ When you propose to cut away the *rotten parts*, can you tell what parts are perfectly sound — at what point the *mortification* ends ? ” — *Junius*, 287. 289.

† “ Besides that I approve highly of Lord Chatham’s idea of *infusing a portion of new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities* (a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom), other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it.” — *Ibid.* i. 290.

have the honour to be, with great respect, your
Ladyship's most obedient and

Most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil. * It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigour of the constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever rise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. It would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown.

“ ‘ I think I have weighed every possible objection that can be raised against a plan of this nature ; and I confess I see but one, which, to me, carries any appearances of solidity. It may be said, perhaps, that when the act passed for uniting the two kingdoms, the number of persons who were to represent the whole nation in parliament was proportioned and fixed on for ever ; that this limitation is a fundamental article, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the Union.

“ ‘ My Lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act, than I have. I revere the memory of that great prince who first formed the plan, and of those illustrious patriots who carried it into execution. As a contract, every article of it should be inviolable ; as the common basis of the strength and happiness of two nations, every article of it should be sacred.† I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties at the expense of the other. No, my Lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act ; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned at the Union ;

* “ *Lord Chatham's project of increasing the number of knights of the shire appears to me admirable.*”—*Junius*, i. 287.

† “ I am far from meaning to impeach the *articles of the union.*”—*Ibid.* i. 380.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE COUNTESS
OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Wednesday evening,
near 8 o'clock, January 24, 1770.

MADAM,

MAY I beg of your Ladyship to communicate to Lord Chatham what has passed in the House of Lords to-day. From my own state of health, and from the agitation of my mind occasioned by

and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege. On these terms, and while the proportion limited by the Union is preserved by the two nations, I apprehend that no man who is a friend to either will object to an alteration so necessary for the security of both. I do not speak of the authority of the legislature to carry such a measure into effect, because I imagine no man will dispute it. But I would not wish the legislature to interpose by an exertion of its power alone, without the cheerful concurrence of all parties. My object is the happiness and security of the two nations, and I would not wish to obtain it without their mutual consent.

“ ‘ My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union, which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us — of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my Lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble Lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide, the emoluments of government ; but, if possible, to save the state. Upon this ground we met — upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction can divide

a late event⁽¹⁾, I was exceedingly doubtful whether I should have been able to have proceeded to-morrow ; but, indeed, upon your Ladyship's letter last night, which informed me that so very essential a support as Lord Chatham's presence would be wanting, I was determined in my own mind to try to put off the day.

When I moved the adjournment from to-morrow till Friday the 2d of February, I moved it upon the two grounds of my own feelings, &c. which had prevented my being even tolerably prepared for so great a question, and upon the other ground of the great loss it might be to the public, that upon so important a question Lord Chatham, with whom I had every reason to imagine my opinions coincided, could not be there.

The reason of naming Friday instead of Thursday is in order to give more time for preparing a protest after the debate. Lord Chatham will see at once the management in that matter, and I think will approve it. Though we had no division, as none objected to put off the day, yet we had a kind

us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance. I hope an early day will be agreed to for considering the state of the nation. My infirmities must fall heavily upon me indeed, if I do not attend my duty that day. When I consider my age, and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question : but I look forward to to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those who come after me the blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself.' "

(¹) The death of Mr. Charles Yorke. See p. 391.

of sparring debate or conversation, that we were inconsistent after our protest, which objected to delay. Upon the whole, I hope we had much the better of the battle. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Ladyship's

most obedient, humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Friday morning, past eleven.

[January 26, 1770.]

A GLORIOUS day, indeed! The House was not up till near three. I was there the whole time. The court seemed much struck. The question distressed them beyond measure: they could not put it off by a previous question. Blundering Clare began his nonsense, and in due time they received, probably from Dyson, who was absent, additional words, which they moved, and which led them into a new violation of every rule and order of parliament.

The motion was the first resolution as upon Lord Chatham's paper ⁽¹⁾; to which they added

(1) "That this House, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof."

words to this effect, “ And that the judgment given by the House last session, that Mr. Wilkes, &c. was and is incapable of being elected, &c. was founded upon those principles ; viz. the law and custom of parliament.” This was a tack to the question, which when carried made it impossible for those who had proposed the first resolution to vote in support of it, when thus tacked to the second. Accordingly, they disclaimed it, and are to go on next Monday. Mr. Hampden seconded the motion, which was made by Dowdeswell. George Grenville spoke astonishingly well, and Wedderburn admirably ; the Solicitor-general very late, and but poorly. Conway distressed them by declaring he wished the questions were separated, and proposed that it should be agreed to divide them ; which Lord North was obliged to consent to, upon condition that the opposition would agree that they should follow each other, which was refused, and the division was had upon the whole.⁽¹⁾ Sir George Yonge spoke, and very well. The admirable and incomparable Jack Shelley voted against us ; which is but a bad prognostic of his Grace’s intentions, upon which, however, the numbers may have great effect. Lord Granby spoke expressive of his determined firmness. Griffin, Howard, and St. Leger with us. Beckford was not at the House ; ill, I suppose. The court did wretchedly, indeed. George Gren-

(1) Upon a division, the question, with the amendment, was carried by 224 to 180 ; thereby confirming the former decision of the House on the Middlesex election.

ville bitter in the last degree, and without mercy, Nothing is yet filled up. If they mean to stand, I suppose it must be done forthwith, as a signal of firmness. Believe me always, my dear sister,

Most truly and affectionately yours,

TEMPLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, January 30, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CAN, from the best authority, assure your Lordship the Duke of Grafton has resigned.⁽¹⁾ The present plan appears to be a trial, with Lord North at the head of the treasury ; but I have reason to think the court not resolved on this measure, and have some thoughts of sounding your Lordship or other heads of opposition, and using all arguments to prevail against a dissolution of parliament, granting any other relief to the public that can be suggested. The Duke of Grafton has resolved on this step ever since Lord Granby's resignation, and the unreasonable demands of his Bedford friends have confirmed his Grace in that resolution. I do not find that he has yet explained himself to his relations. Mr. Conway does not mean to take

(¹) To the great astonishment of the nation, the Duke of Grafton, on the evening of the 28th, resigned his situation of first lord of the treasury, and Lord North, already chancellor of the exchequer, was immediately appointed his successor.

more cordially to the treasury bench for this change, nor will he take any new situation.

The lieutenancy of Ireland has been offered Lord Rochford, but he refused it: this was with a view to vacate secretary of state for Lord Sandwich. The Bedford story is, that the Duke of Grafton will support roundly, and show it by his violence in the House of Lords on Friday; that no other change is to be made, and that they will fight the battle through. A third quarter gives me hints of real alarm at Buckingham House. Lord Granby is come in; so I must only add my warm wishes for your Lordship's health, and assure you that I am,

Most respectfully and

affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT,
ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday night, January 30, 1770.

SIR,

I HAVE the pleasure to return you, in my Lord's name, abundance of thanks for the favour of your interesting letter. The resignation of the Duke of Grafton seems an incomprehensible mystery, on any other supposition than that of ministry breaking up; and even in that case, it is equally without a solution. Time, and that a very short one, must

clear up this riddle, and for the present a suspense of conjecture naturally takes place here.

I cannot enough say how much my Lord feels your very obliging and kind attention to keep him informed of what is passing in a time so big with expectation. We know you will be pleased to hear, that the gout has gone on favourably, and that my Lord trusts that he shall be able to appear on Friday, having sat up the greatest part of yesterday and to-day without fatigue. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful,

humble servant,

HESTER CHATHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, 3 o'clock, p. m.
February 1, 1770.

LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his compliments to the Earl of Chatham, and hopes to have the pleasure of hearing that Lord Chatham's health is so well, that there is no fear of so great a disappointment as his Lordship's absence from the House of Lords to-morrow would be.

Lord Rockingham imagines Lord Chatham would not be much surprised at the majority last night ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In the House of Commons, on Mr. Dowdeswell's motion, "That by the law of the land, and the known law and usage of parliament, no person eligible by common right can be incapacitated by vote or resolution of this House, but by act of parliament only;" which was negatived by 226 against 181.

having been two hundred and twenty six, as his Lordship must have seen, for some years, that it is neither men nor measures, but something else, which operates in these times. ⁽¹⁾

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Saturday, 4 o'clock, p. m.
February 17, 1770.

LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his compliments to Lord Chatham, and has the honour of enclosing to

⁽¹⁾ On the following day, the House of Lords being in a committee on the state of the nation, the Marquis of Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof." After the motion had been opposed by Lord Sandwich,

The Earl of CHATHAM rose.* — "He began with observing, that the noble Lord had been very adroit in referring to the Journals, and in collecting every circumstance that might assist his argument. Though my long and almost continued infirmities, said he, have denied me the hour of ease to obtain these benefits, yet, without the assistance of the Journals, or other collaterals I can reply to both the precedents which his Lordship has produced. I will readily allow the facts to be as the noble Earl has stated them; namely, that Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, as well as Lord Bacon, were both, for certain crimes and misdemeanors, expelled this house, and incapacitated from ever sitting here, without occasioning any interference from the other branches of the legislature. Neither of these cases bear any analogy to the present case. They affected only themselves: the rights of no constituent body were affected by them. It is not the person of Mr. Wilkes that is complained of: as an individual, he is personally out of the dispute. The cause of complaint, the great

* Of this speech, which Almon took from the London Museum, Junius was, from internal evidence, the reporter. See "Junius Identified," p. 384.

his Lordship a copy of the motion proposed to be made on Monday next. Lord Craven will make

cause, is, that the inherent rights and franchises of the people are, in this case, invaded, trampled upon, and annihilated.* Lord Bacon and Lord Middlesex represented no county or city: the rights of no freeholder, the franchises of no elector, were destroyed by their expulsion. The cases are as widely different as north from south. But I will allow the noble Earl a succedaneum to his argument, which, probably, he has not as yet thought of. I will suppose he urges, 'that whatever authority gives a seat to a peer, it is at least equally as respectable as to a commoner, and that, both in expulsion and incapacitation, the injury is directly the same.' Granted; and I will further allow, that if Mr. Wilkes had not been re-elected by the people, the first expulsion, I believe, would be efficient. Therefore, my Lords, this comparison ceases; for, except these noble lords mentioned had received a fresh title, either by birth or patent, they could not possibly have any claim after the first expulsion. The noble Lord asks, 'How came this doctrine to be broached?' And adds, 'Who should be more tenacious of their liberties and privileges than the members themselves?' In respect to the latter part of this question, I agree none should be so proper as themselves to protect their own rights and privileges; and I sincerely lament that they have, by their recent conduct, so far forgot what those privileges are, that they have added to the long list of venality from Esau to the present day. In regard to the first part, 'How came this doctrine to be broached?' I must tell the noble Lord it is as old as the constitution itself; the liberties of the people, in the original distribution of government, being the first thing provided for; and in the case of Mr. Wilkes, though we have not instances as numerous as in other cases, yet it is, by no means, the less constitutional; like a comet in the firmament, which however it may dazzle and surprise the vulgar and untutored, by the unfrequency of its appearance, the philosopher, versed in astronomic science, it affects no more than any other common process of nature, being perfectly simple, and to him perfectly intelligible. Need I remind you, my Lords, at this period, of that common school-boy position, 'that the constitution of this country depends upon King, Lords, and Commons; that each by its power is a balance to the other?' If this is not the case, why were the three estates constituted? Why should it be necessary, before an act of parliament takes place, that their mutual concurrence should be had? My Lords, I am ashamed to trudge in this common track of argument; and have no apology to make, but

* *Let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The laws of England shall not be violated even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner.*— *Junius*, i. 460.

the motion, and will take it in part upon the ground of the public notoriety of what passed in the

that I have been drawn into it by the noble Lord's asserting, 'We had no right to interfere with the privileges of the other House.'

"The noble Earl has been very exact in his calculation of the proportion of persons who have petitioned; and did the affair rest merely on this calculation, his argument would be unanswerable; but will he consider what numbers, whose private sentiments felt all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, but for want of a few principals to call them together and collect their opinions have never reached the ear of their sovereign. If we add to this number, the interest made use of on the side of government, to suppress all petitions, with the authority that placemen have necessarily over their dependents, it is very surprising, that out of forty counties, thirteen had spirit and independence sufficient to stem such a tide of venality. But I will suppose that this was not the case, that no undue influence was made use of, and that hence but one third of the people think themselves aggrieved. Are numbers to constitute right? are not the laws of the land fixed and unalterable? and is not this proceeding complained of, or any other (supported even but by one), to be tried and adjudged by these laws? Therefore, however the noble Lord may excel in the doctrine of calculation as a speculative matter, it can by no means serve him, urged in the course of argument. Let us not then, my Lords, be deaf to the alarms of the people, when these alarms are founded on the infringement of their rights. Let us not sit neuter and inattentive to the proceedings of the other House. We are, equally with that House, intrusted with the people's rights, and we cannot conscientiously discharge our duties without our interference, whenever we find those rights, in any part of the constitution, trampled on.

"I have, my Lords, trespassed on your patience at this late hour of the night, when the length of this debate must have fatigued your Lordships considerably. But I cannot apologize in a case so deeply interesting to the nation — no time can be too long — no time can be lost — no hardships can be complained of. — He condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of asperity. He denominated the vote of that House, which had made Colonel Luttrell representative for Middlesex, a gross invasion of the rights of election — a dangerous violation of the English constitution — a treacherous surrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour. They had stript the statute book of its brightest ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction and lawless domination. To gratify the resentments of some individuals, the laws had been despised, trampled upon, and destroyed — those laws, which had been made by the stern virtue of their ancestors, the iron barons of old, to

House of Commons, relative to Sir Edward Hawke's declarations, &c. &c. The intended motion is yet a secret from the administration.

whom we were indebted for all the blessings of our present constitution: to whose virtue and whose blood, to whose spirit in the hour of contest, and to whose tenderness in the triumph of victory, the silken barons of this day owe their honours and their seats, and both Houses of Parliament owe their continuance.* These measures, he said, made a part of that unhappy system, which had been formed in the present reign, with a view to new-model the constitution, as well as the government. These measures originated, he would not say, with his Majesty's knowledge, but in his Majesty's councils. The Commons had slavishly obeyed the commands of his Majesty's servants, and had thereby exhibited, and proved, to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of suspicion before — that ministers held a corrupt influence in parliament — it was demonstrable — it was indisputable. It was therefore particularly necessary for their Lordships, at this critical and alarming period, so full of jealousy and apprehension, to step forwards, and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed, and perhaps speedy, intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his Majesty's ministers; that they might prevent licentiousness on the one side, and depredation on the other. Their Lordships were the constitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative."

The Marquis of Rockingham's motion was negatived by 96 against 47. After which, the Earl of Marchmont moved, "That any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leads to a general confusion." He threw out, by way of menace to the opposition, that if they went one step further, they would justify the necessity of calling in foreign assistance. The Duke of Richmond called him to order, and asked for an explanation of the words foreign assistance; but he shuffled it off. Lord Mansfield insisted that their Lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. The Earl

* "When Barrington, that *silken fawning courtier*."—*Junius*, iii. 431. — "I should be glad to mortify those *contemptible creatures*, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs."—*Ibid.* i. 290.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Sunday night, past eleven,
February 18, 1770.

LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his compliments to Lord Chatham, and was much concerned at the account he received this evening of his Lordship's

of Egmont said, the late petitions were highly censurable; that the people had no right, nor even claim of right, to present such petitions—that they were treasonable. This harsh denunciation of the petitions brought up the Earl of Chatham. His Lordship declared, “that however indignant he might feel on such a dreadful sentence on the petitioners, he hoped they would only smile when they heard it. He thanked Lord Marchmont for his lenity, in permitting the petitioners to have their heads on one day longer; and said the petitions were laudable and constitutional, and the right of the people to present them undoubted. He then replied to Lord Mansfield, and showed the necessity of the House of Lords interfering, in cases of an invasion of the people's liberties, or an unconstitutional determination of the House of Commons; and he affirmed, that the case of the county of Middlesex fell under both these denominations. He conjured them, then, by the noble blood which had run for so many ages in their veins, and by the noble struggles of their ancestors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a transaction so alarming; and modestly said of himself, for his own part, he was hardly warm in his seat. He quoted Lord Somers and Chief Justice Holt, in support of his law, and drew their characters very finely. He called them honest men, who knew and loved the English constitution. Then, turning to Lord Mansfield, he said, with a sneer, I vow to God I think the noble Lord equals them both—in abilities.* He complained strongly of the motion being sudden, and made at midnight, and pressed the necessity of an adjournment of only two days. He said, among other things, if the consti-

* “Cursed with the *abilities* of a Mansfield.”—*Junius*, i. 237.—“I acknowledge your *abilities*.”—*Ibid.* ii. 181.

having an attack of the gout. Lord Rockingham thought it quite necessary that the lords who had met here yesterday should be informed of Lord Chatham's indisposition, and that their opinion should be asked about putting off the motion.⁽¹⁾

tution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey." At half-past one the question was put, and carried in the affirmative.

(¹) On the 2d of March, Lord Chatham being sufficiently recovered to attend, Lord Craven moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, beseeching him forthwith to take the proper steps for such an increase of seamen in the royal navy as shall effectually preserve the honour and security of his Majesty's kingdoms and colonies, and protect the trade of his Majesty's subjects." The following report of Lord Chatham's speech on this occasion was taken by Junius* : —

* "The report of this speech is shown to be from the pen of JUNIUS, by the following letter, which accompanied it when first inserted in the Public Advertiser of March 5. : — 'Sir, I had the good fortune, last Friday, to be in company with two noble peers who have not been accustomed lately to meet often in private. As the subject of their conversation was curious, and worth the attention of your readers, I send you that part of it which I can recollect, and very nearly in their own words. I am, Sir, your humble servant, INVISIBLE.' Comparing this letter with the note prefixed to Burke's speech, by JUNIUS, on the 5th December, 1767, (Woodfall, vol. ii. p. 498.) and with the introductory paragraph to another sketch by him, on the 19th November, 1770, 'Sir, a few days ago I was in a large public company, where there happened some curious conversation,' (vol. iii. p. 278.) we at once perceive that the report which follows may be justly attributed to JUNIUS. It then opens in these words : — 'The house of Savoy has produced a race of illustrious princes; notwithstanding which, it must be confessed, that the court of Turin sold you to the court of France in the last peace.' After this sentence, the reports in the Public Advertiser and the London Museum, into which it was copied, agree word for word with the debate as it is given in Almon; but instead of the above four lines, ALMON has inserted more than a page and a half of the speech of Lord Chatham, not to be found printed in any other work; and the reporter has introduced, in the course of it, the substance of the above in an emphatic manner, marking it with italics and small capitals, as if it were, what it certainly was, the essence of that part of the speech — that portion which he took down in his notes — and which his recollection afterwards enabled him to extend to twelve times the original

Indeed, it appeared to be the judgment of many lords, that the putting it off might be hurtful to

“The Earl of CHATHAM supported the motion. He condemned the conduct of the ministry in every particular concerning the navy. Having gone through great part of the subject, he took occasion to speak of the secret influence which had pervaded the counsels of the present reign. He described this influence as having subsisted from the first moment of his Majesty's accession. He called it dangerous, base, unconstitutional and wicked. It had undermined and overturned every administration, however constituted or supported. He spoke, he said, of an invisible, irresponsible influence — of the pernicious counsels of a favourite, who had occasioned all the unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and whose agents had extended his pernicious politics and principles to the government and terror of the colonies; from all which he deprecated the worst of misfortunes. That although this favourite was at the present moment abroad, yet his influence, by his confidential agents, was as potent as if he were present. Who does not know the Mazarinade of France — that Mazarine absent, was Mazarine still. What is there, he asked, to distinguish the two cases? The transaction of the late peace was a great proof, amongst many others, of his influence; that measure was his. Others participated in the guilt, but he was the principal. Then, raising his voice, he asserted, in a manly and dignified tone, *that this country WAS SOLD at the late peace; that we were SOLD by the court of Turin to the court of France*: what other persons were concerned he would not at present state; but what he had stated was an indisputable FACT. He himself had been duped by this secret influence at the moment when he least suspected treachery; when the prospect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were strong; in particular, at the time when he was taken ill, and obliged to go to Bath for a short week; he had before he set

length. The question who furnished Almon, in 1792, with this extended account of the debate on March 2, 1770? admits but of one answer, when it is considered, that from SIR PHILIP FRANCIS were received the two full reports preceding, (see pp. 369, 400.) and one still longer immediately following this.” — *Junius Identified*, p. 385.

the cause, and yet the very polite manner in which Lord Chatham had expressed his wish of its being

out formed with great pains, attention, and deliberation, some plans, which, as he conceived, were highly interesting, and of the utmost importance to this country; which had been approved in council, and to which the King himself had given his approbation. But when he returned, he found his plans were all vanished into thin air. 'When I,' continued he, 'was earnestly called upon for the public service, I came from Somersetshire with wings of zeal. I consented to preserve a peace which I abominated; a peace I would not make, but would preserve when made. I undertook to support a government by law; but to shield no man from public justice. These terms were accepted, I thought, with sincerity accepted. I own I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived; for I soon found that there was no original administration to be suffered in this country. The same secret invisible influence still prevailed, which had put an end to all the successive administrations, as soon as they opposed or declined to act under it.' Here the Duke of Grafton rose, and said, 'I rise to defend the King; though, if I understand rightly the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a distempered mind, brooding over its own discontent.' To which, Lord Chatham replied, — 'I rise neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away, the words I have spoken. As for his Majesty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the closet; so amiably condescending as a *promise*, in every repeated audience, not only to forgive, but to supply, the defects of health by his cheerful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependants, &c. Instead of this, all the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, did not arise from those out of government: they were suggested, nourished, and supported, by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependants; first by secret treachery; then by official influence; afterwards in public councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me that there is something behind the throne greater than the King himself. As to the noble duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a

put off, and the desire the lords had that his Lordship should be present in the House on the debate, has inclined us all to decide to put it off till Wednesday or Friday se'nnight.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, Tuesday afternoon,
March 13, 1770. ⁽¹⁾

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD TEMPLE will have communicated my intelligence of last night. It is since confirmed, and

gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled and solemnly agreed to by his Grace, both as to measures and men; till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally launched. As to a distempered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs, that my principles have never given way to any disease; and that I have always had sufficient vigour of mind remaining to support them, and consequently to avoid all those snares, which, from time to time, have been so artfully laid to take advantage of my state of health: his Grace can witness better than any other man, because he has himself the letters which sufficiently prove it.' The motion was negatived."

⁽¹⁾ On the following day, a debate took place in the House of Lords, on a motion for a committee to inquire into the state and expenditure of the civil list. The subjoined account of what passed upon this occasion originally appeared in the London Museum: —

"The Earl of CHATHAM spoke in support of the motion. He said, 'The civil list was appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the civil government; and in the next, to the honour and dignity of the crown. In every other respect, the minute and particular expenses of the civil list are as open to

I believe Thursday will be the day on which the remonstrance is to be attacked in parliament.

parliamentary examination and inquiry, in regard to the application and abuse, as any other grant of the people to any other purpose: and the ministers are equally or more culpable for incurring an unprovided expense, and arrears in this service, as for any other. The preamble of the civil list acts prove this; and none but novices will ever act without proper regard to them: and therefore I can never consent to increase fraudulently the civil establishment, under pretence of making up deficiencies; nor will I bid so high for royal favour: and the minister who is bold enough to spend the people's money before it is granted (even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives), and thereby leaving the people of England no other alternative, but either to disgrace their Sovereign, by not paying his debts, or to become the prey of every unthrifty or corrupt minister — such minister deserves death. The late good old King had something of humanity and amongst other royal and manly virtues, he possessed justice, truth, and sincerity, in an eminent degree; so that he had something about him by which it was possible to know whether he liked you or disliked you. I have been told that I have a pension, and that I recommended others to pensions. It is true; and here is a list of them: you will find there the names of General Amherst, Sir Edward Hawke, and several others of the same nature; they were given as rewards for real services, and as encouragements to other gallant heroes. They were honourably earned in a different sort of campaigns than those at Westminster; they were gained by actions full of danger to themselves, of glory and benefit to this nation; not by corrupt votes of baseness to the destruction of their country. You will find no secret services there; and you will find, that when the warrior was recompensed, the member of parliament was left free. You will likewise find a pension of 1500*l.* a year to Lord Camden. I recommended his Lordship to be chancellor; his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all; they made his station more precarious. I could not reasonably expect from him that he would quit the chief justiceship of the common pleas, which he held for life, and put himself in the

The mode at present resolved upon is to move against Mr. Lovel, as the first of the committee

power of those who were not to be trusted, to be dismissed from the chancery, perhaps the day after his appointment. The public has not been deceived by his conduct. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more a poor and private man; he was dismissed for the opinion he gave in favour of the right of election in the people.' Here Lord Marchmont, who lately talked of foreign force, called Lord Chatham to order. Some lords called out 'To the bar! to the bar!' Lord Marchmont moved, that Lord Chatham's words should be taken down. Lord Chatham seconded the motion; and added, 'I neither deny, retract, nor explain, these words. I do re-affirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honour of every lord in this house, whether he has not the same conviction.' Lord Rockingham, Lord Temple, and many other lords, did upon their honour affirm the same. Lord Sandwich and Lord Weymouth would have withdrawn the motion; but Lord Marchmont, encouraged by Lord Mansfield, persisted, and moved that nothing had appeared to justify such an assertion. Lord CHATHAM. 'My words remain unretracted, unexplained, and re-affirmed. I desire to know whether I am condemned, or acquitted; and whether I may still presume to hold up my head as high as the noble lord who moved to have my words taken down.' To this no answer was given. Lord Chatham being reproached with having recommended the Duke of Grafton; and that he had forced his Grace on the King as his first minister, thus replied: — 'I advised his Majesty to take the Duke of Grafton as first lord of the treasury; but there is such a thing as time as well as tide; and the conduct of the noble duke has convinced me that I am as likely to be deceived as any other man, and as fallible as my betters. It was an expression of that great minister Sir Robert Walpole, upon a debate on the army, in the year 1737, "those who gave the power of blood, gave blood." I will beg leave to parodize the expression, and say, Those who gave the means of corruption, gave corruption. I will trust no sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people. When I had the honour of

who signed the request to the lord mayor : then 't is imagined my lord mayor and the sheriffs will rise in their places to say they are parties equally ; which is to bring the attack upon them. The alarm at court is beyond imagination. If our friends stand firm, they own all is over with them. Every temptation is, or will be, forthwith held out to Lord Rockingham. There is their only hope. I wish your Lordship could contrive to see Lord Granby

being the confidential keeper of the King's intention, he assured me that he never intended to exceed the allowance which was made by parliament ; and therefore, my Lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in the King ; at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies ; that a request of an inquiry into the expenditure of the civil list should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the King of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity ? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts ? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants ? Or does he mean, by drawing the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people, to procure a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his ministers at all adventures ? I do not say, my Lords, that corruption lies here, or that corruption lies there ; but if any gentleman in England were to ask me, whether I thought both houses of parliament were bribed, I should laugh in his face, and say, " Sir, it is not so." My Lords, from all that has been said, I think it must appear, that an inquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list revenue is expedient, proper, and just ; a refusal of it at this time will only add ridicule to disgrace, and folly to enormity.' The motion was negatived."

to-morrow, and talk over with him the state of the times and the remonstrance. I am, most affectionately, yours, &c.

J. CALCRAFT. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) The following is from the Annual Register:—"An event which took place at this time, as it renewed all the heat and debate within doors, so it added new force to the ill humour and discontent without. This was the address, remonstrance, and petition of the livery and corporation of London, in common-hall assembled, to the King; praying for the dissolution of parliament, and the removal of evil ministers; a piece as remarkable for the freedom and boldness of the sentiments which it conveyed, as for the extraordinary terms in which they were expressed. Among other passages in this remonstrance, it was asserted, 'that the only judge removable at the pleasure of the crown had been dismissed from his high office for defending in parliament the laws and the constitution: that, under the same secret and malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good, and suggested every bad, intention, the majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights: that the decision on the Middlesex election was a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second; a deed which must vitiate all the proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal House of Commons than without a legal prince upon the throne: that representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws; and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived: the present House of Commons do not represent the people.' It was said, in the answer, that "the contents of the remonstrance could not but be considered as disrespectful to majesty, injurious to the parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution." The remonstrance was delivered by the Lord Mayor, who was attended by the sheriffs and other city officers in their formalities, together with a few of the aldermen, and a great body of the common-council."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday night, March 13, 1770.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOTHING can appear to me more absurd, or even ridiculous, than the high tone which the court mean to take upon the petition and remonstrance of the city, according to your intelligence ; for the communication of which I beg you will receive a thousand thanks. I propose to be in town about eleven to-morrow morning, and shall be extremely obliged to you if you will be so good as to let Lord Granby know that I shall be proud and happy to have the honour of seeing his Lordship at twelve to-morrow, if it be convenient to him.

I cannot close this hasty note without saying again, how ridiculous and contemptible, in my sense, all the *counterfeited* firmness is of real *despair*, convicted guilt, and conscious weakness and incapacity. I rest assured that all temptation will be vain in the quarter you mention ; and so I shall lay my head upon the safe pillow of well-grounded confidence, and sleep undisturbed with the doubts of any material defection. If here and there an individual should be found base enough or silly enough to turn tail in this great moment, a good riddance, say I, of such miserable company ! Such defections, should any happen, will, in effect,

strengthen rather than weaken the real friends and true votaries of liberty. You may think your friend full confident; but I trust I shall not be disproved by the event, and in the moment these sensations are truly pleasing to me. Adieu till tomorrow. My dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, Saturday, March 17, 1770,
3 o'clock.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE fright at court continues, and they are not only puzzled, but undetermined what to do with the remonstrance, now 't is got to parliament.⁽¹⁾ The only resolution taken is, to be most temperate, and avoid either expulsion or commitment⁽²⁾; seeing the lord mayor and sheriffs court it. The attack

(¹) On the motion of Sir Thomas Clavering, and after a division of 271 to 108, a copy of the city address, remonstrance, and petition, was, on the 15th of March, ordered to be laid before the House.

(²) On the preceding day, Sir Thomas Clavering moved in the House of Commons, "That to deny the legality of the present parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable, and has a manifest tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, by withdrawing his Majesty's subjects from their obedience to the laws of the realm." After a debate, which lasted till two in the morning, it was agreed to by 284 against 127.

of Lovel is laid aside too, as the lord mayor, &c. would rise and take the blame from him. The attorney-general is the great adviser, and has been the promoter, of their attack on the city. The ministers dread a resolution of the common-hall against the advisers of the strong words in his Majesty's answer. I am, &c.

J. CALCRAFT.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO EARL TEMPLE.

Sunday, 20 minutes past 9, March 18, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

JUST as your Lordship left me a friend ⁽¹⁾ came in, who says he hears a strong report that they disagree amongst themselves, see the difficulties they may be involved in, and have resolved not to proceed upon the remonstrance to-morrow. Lord Chatham's proposal about Westminster⁽²⁾ adds to their alarm. The greatest person requires cordials. We should not be the less upon our guard for this rumour. Yours, &c.

J CALCRAFT.

(1) Query, was not this "friend" Sir Philip Francis? See p. 444.

(2) JUNIUS, in a private letter to Mr. Woodfall, dated, Sunday, March 18, says, "Lord Chatham is determined to go to the hall to support the Westminster remonstrance. I have no doubt that we shall conquer them at last."

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

March 20, 1770, past eleven at night.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

I HAD the grace to stay in the House of Commons till three o'clock this morning; the result you see in the enclosed paper. They have all this day been fighting the address. I left them at dinner time. I take it for granted it will come up to us to-morrow, and that we shall be to debate it on Thursday; purposely meant to interfere with lord mayor's dinner. ⁽¹⁾ I wish to God this extre-

(1) On the 22d, the lord mayor gave a splendid entertainment to a select number of the members of both houses of parliament. Lord Chatham was unable to attend. In reference to this entertainment, his Lordship thus wrote to the lord mayor on the 10th: — "I am just returned from Lord Rockingham, who commissions me to let your Lordship know that Thursday se'nnight will be perfectly agreeable to him, and that he will, with the greatest pleasure, wait on the lord mayor that day: — a most important day we all think it, and that your Lordship, and in you the public, may be attended as the great object of these dangerous times demands, it is wished by us, that you would be so good as to declare your intentions for the convivium immediately, in order to its being known to-morrow at court. I need not say, my dear Lord, how public-spirited and firm to the cause of the constitution Lord Rockingham is. He, Lord Temple, and I, are equally of opinion that no new matters should be opened or agitated at or after the convivium." In a letter to Lord Chatham of the 25th, the Marquis says, "Nothing could be more magnificent or better conducted than every thing was there; and indeed the meeting was a very respectable one."

mity of the weather may not prevent our seeing your good Lord at one place or the other. Both would be best, but that is too much to expect. I have kept open my letter for news from the House; to which I have sent, but in vain. Impeachment seemed to be the measure resolved on at dinner time.⁽¹⁾ Kind love to all, from

Your most truly affectionate

TEMPLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, 24th March, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE court thinks the ministers have stopt too short in the persecution of the city magistrates, and the language of Thursday was, "my ministers have no spirit; they don't pursue measures with any spirit." There is great confusion amongst them; and if we stand by the people as we ought, and take another early opportunity to show it, it will have the best effect, for notwithstanding high words, there is real alarm. * * * I am, my dear Lord,

Most affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

⁽¹⁾ After a long debate, an address to the King, in reprobation of the city remonstrance, was this day agreed to, by 248 against 94.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, March 27, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD GRANBY talks of going to Lincolnshire, when Mr. Grenville's bill is through the House of Commons; wherefore I wish to know if your Lordship has any desire to the contrary, that he may be prepared. Earl Percy is gone to his regiment in Ireland.

The anger of the court and Bute party, at being given up, as they term it, after the strong answer to the city remonstrance, has been so violent, that thoughts of going further have been resumed; but I do not believe they will be carried into execution. I should not be surprised if Lord North lost ground on this occasion, especially if the Duke of Grafton has the zeal to get back to employment which is attributed to him. Your Lordship's most affectionate,

And faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Wednesday night, March 28, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

WHENEVER you can, without inconvenience, give me the pleasure you so kindly intended me at

Hayes, you will give me the most real satisfaction. Our noble friend's journey to Lincolnshire seems at present liable to no wish to the contrary, unless there should arise a prospect of business in the House of Commons; which I do not foresee. Your attention on this important subject is, however, most proper and obliging. I have not heard of Lord Percy's going to his regiment: probably the orders for Ireland are pressing. I rejoice to see in the papers, that his Lordship's constituents are not frightened out of their birthrights by big words from the destroyers of them.⁽¹⁾ Middlesex, I see too, with great satisfaction, still think they are freemen. As for the anger you mention in a certain quarter, at being given up, as they call it, after the silly answer to the city, I can only say, they have nothing to be angry with but their own *folly* and the *wisdom* of the constitution, expressed with so much precision in the Bill of Rights. As for all talk of *going farther*, I can only look on it with the contempt it deserves. The intimation about the Duke of Grafton is what I could not have dreamed. Gout is gradually abating, and I trust a little milder weather will soon make me forthcoming. I am ever, with truest regard, dear Sir, your most faithful and

Affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

⁽¹⁾ The electors of Westminster had, in the morning, unanimously agreed to a petition and remonstrance; which, in half an hour after, was presented to the king.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, March 29, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE good account of your Lordship's health gives me the greatest pleasure. I have strong faith in a change of weather, and will take the first opportunity of profiting by your Lordship's very kind invitation. Lord Granby will now go to the country with much satisfaction, as well as credit. Earl Percy's journey was inclination, not order. The Westminster remonstrance went up yesterday; poorly attended, and still worse received. The Middlesex meeting is to-morrow; the freeholders are warm in that county.

That anger mentioned in my last letter, added to the eagerness of the Butes and Bedfords, occasioned a fresh cabinet about the city remonstrance; when Lord North, Lord Halifax, Lord Hillsborough, and Lord Rochford prevailed against their brother councillors to prosecute no further. The promise is sent Lord Townshend, to make him a marquis when he leaves Ireland. Your Lordship may be assured the Duke of Grafton grew unhappy four-and-twenty hours after his resignation, and is working hard to get in again. Thurlow has succeeded Mr. Dunning, Jackson is counsel to the board of trade, Mr. Moreton and Mr. Ambler kiss hands to-day as attorney and solicitor general to the Queen, and

Mr. Cust has Mr. Hussey's other place. I am
always, with the warmest affection and respect,

Your Lordship's

most obliged, obedient,

and faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

P.S. I break my letter open to tell you Mr. Sawbridge has just been here. To my great concern he informs me, that the lord mayor and leading people of Middlesex are so offended by the half support given to the city remonstrance, and total neglect of that for Westminster, that they mean not to remonstrate to-morrow, but come to resolutions expressing their discontent at the treatment of petitions and remonstrances. They lay the whole of this mischief to the Rockingham party. I have moderated the city warmth against any part of opposition for several days; but fear it will break out at last.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, March 30, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

AFTER I wrote yesterday to your Lordship I had much conversation with Mr. Sawbridge, and stated, to the best of my abilities, the cruelty of giving up the people, after the struggle they have made, to the present arbitrary weak administration; I also told him the motives to which it would be imputed. He agreed with me entirely, but doubted his power

to procure a remonstrance, Horne and his party having settled another plan. He wished me much to meet Horne at his house before they went this morning, and assist him in arguing the point. I did so, and Horne acquiesced in a remonstrance, which Mr. Adair was to move, after he had proposed some resolutions relative to the answer given the city. I have neither seen resolutions or remonstrance, but hear they are agreed to, and that it was a very large meeting.

Something happened on Sunday at Lord Shelburne's, I find, that has put my lord mayor out of humour, and all that party are quite outrageous, Lord Shelburne himself not less than the others; but as I have no communication, this is from report, not my own knowledge. The court are satisfied again with Lord North, and every engine is at work to divide opposition. Lord Mansfield is trying what he can do in Grosvenor Square. I am, with most respectful compliments to Hayes,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

P.S. Mr. Sawbridge is this moment come in with a more accurate and very pleasing account of the Mile End meeting. Mr. Horne dropped all his intended abuse against the Rockinghams; he gave up his resolutions too, saying they were better stated in the remonstrance, and spoke for two hours most ably. He gave a very clever account of what the ministers had done by way of satisfying the people. It was a most respectable meeting.

Mr. Cust has Mr. Hussey's other place. I am
always, with the warmest affection and respect,

Your Lordship's

most obliged, obedient,

and faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

P.S. I break my letter open to tell you Mr. Sawbridge has just been here. To my great concern he informs me, that the lord mayor and leading people of Middlesex are so offended by the half support given to the city remonstrance, and total neglect of that for Westminster, that they mean not to remonstrate to-morrow, but come to resolutions expressing their discontent at the treatment of petitions and remonstrances. They lay the whole of this mischief to the Rockingham party. I have moderated the city warmth against any part of opposition for several days; but fear it will break out at last.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

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THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Friday night, March 30, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR very obliging letter has brought me most sensible satisfaction, and I confess it found me under all the impressions of strong disapprobation of the strange and puerile desertion of the public, which was going to happen ; and the whole of this sudden revolution from the hottest zeal to the manifest appearance of dismay, produced, as it seems to me, by a pet taken at I do not well know what, nor whom. I am a stranger to any particular incident at Lord Shelburne's, not being supplied with over-much communication. I deeply lament any tendency towards jealousies or animosities between different parts of the combined forces, who stand for the public, and upon the maintenance of whose union all hope of good depends. If that transcendent and indispensable object shall be thrown away, I shall esteem nothing worth pursuing, with a moment's thought. Your weight with Mr. Sawbridge has been most happily exerted ; and the conclusion at Mile End has saved the cause of the constitution from the irrecoverable contempt which was impending, from silly resentments and pernicious jealousies. May a temper of more manly wisdom, and some public spirited candour and indulgence prevail amongst those who happen to differ in particular points, than that which seemed

just bursting forth ! As for Lord Rockingham, I have a firm reliance on his zeal for liberty, and will not separate from him.

Ever, my dear Sir,

most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, April 2, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

My brother's bill⁽¹⁾ is this day passed in the House of Commons ; the court having given up the design of opposing it on the third reading, which they fully intended, as it was said, yesterday. Their situation in the House of Lords is as truly deplorable. Lord Mansfield told Lord Weymouth this day, that he approved and should support it ; the consequence of which is, that no ministerial opposition will be given to it.

To-morrow it will come up to us, and it is agreed to read it a second time on Thursday, unless you have any particular wish about it ; which, considering the present state of the business, I should think you cannot. What I relate to you I have

(¹) Mr. George Grenville's celebrated bill, for regulating the trials of controverted election ; " one of the noblest works," says Mr. Hatsell, " for the honour of the House of Commons, and the security of the constitution, that was ever devised by any minister or statesman."

from the parties themselves ; with this addition from Lord Mansfield, that if a real opposition had been thought of, he would have taken an early, large, and warm part in support of it.

I am told, and very peremptorily, from more quarters than one, that the King is much struck with this event, and that he has but a bad opinion of the state of his ministry. I am glad, however, to find that Calcraft, as well as yourself, has a very good opinion of your own health, let the health of the state be what it may. I hope to be able to get to Stowe on Sunday for a week, and then for the Mansion House, that seat of liberty and spirit ; but if you have any particular wish with regard to the time for this bill⁽¹⁾, I will endeavour to make other matters bend to it ; happy always, my dear Lord, to show myself,

Your Lordship's

most affectionately devoted

TEMPLE.

(¹) On the 5th of April, the bill was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Grenville, attended by a hundred members. Lord Chatham supported it, and passed some elegant encomiums upon it. He then said, that "as he had begun his life out of a court, he hoped he should end it out of a court: he had no view to interest ; all he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of this constitution." He then desired that the House might be summoned after the holidays, as he designed to bring in a bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election. He declared that his intention by this Bill was to give the people a strong and thorough sense of the great violation of the constitution, by those unjust and arbitrary proceedings.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, April 10, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

It gave me great pain to hear your Lordship had another attack of the gout; but whilst this weather lasts we invalids must expect relapses; though I hope and trust the fit will not be lasting. After the noble protection given by your Lordship to the Kentish petition, it would be highly unbecoming in me to omit informing your Lordship, that I presented it at St. James's yesterday, and notwithstanding three skins circulated in East Kent were not forthcoming, those delivered were signed by 2707 freeholders; which, considering the weight of government in this county, the public as well as underhand opposition, and the deficiency of Norris's neighbours in the Wild, is not inconsiderable. The Middlesex remonstrance was delivered at the same time; and after what had passed on that subject, I judged it proper to go up with the sheriffs. Townshend is come into humour, and so is my lord mayor, who talks of being at Hayes to-day or to-morrow. Thursday there is to be another Common Hall.

Last Thursday and Friday were strange days for the treasury bench, who gave up an amendment to Mr. Herbert's bill⁽¹⁾, which had been moved by

⁽¹⁾ To regulate the consequences of the expulsion of members of the House of Commons. In a letter to Lord Chatham

Jenkinson, seconded by Dyson, and supported by Lord North!⁽¹⁾ Even Lord Barrington deserted his allies on this question, and is gone to the country. The Conway family have voted in opposition three days together. The Tories are dissatisfied, and have sent Lord North word, he is not to expect constant support from them. The Bedfords express their discontent loudly; Lord North's complaints are not less public; and they are all in great confusion. I am, with the warmest attachment,

Most faithfully

and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday, April 10, 1770.

LORD CHATHAM is infinitely obliged to Mr. Calcraft for the favour of his very kind letter; for which

of the preceding day, the Marquis of Rockingham says:—"It was a curious day in the House of Commons last Friday, on Mr. Herbert's bill. Mr. Jenkinson moved an amendment to overturn the principle on which Mr. Herbert had founded his bill, and was supported by Lord North, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Dyson, Mr. Charles Fox, and Lord Clare. Lord Barrington, Lord Beauchamp, and General Conway opposed. The Attorney General and Lord Strange went away. The amendment proposed was in the end withdrawn."

⁽¹⁾ All three lords of the treasury.

he desires to express, by a borrowed hand, many sincere thanks. He greatly rejoices at the handsome figure the petition of Kent makes, under the various oppressive loads with which it laboured; thanks to the generous spirit and indefatigable zeal of the master of Ingress. The account of the return to good humour in my lord mayor and Mr. Sheriff Townshend is most welcome, and cannot fail to produce the best effects, if they will continue to know their real friends. Lord Chatham will hope impatiently for the honour and most sincere pleasure, of seeing my lord mayor at Hayes, as Mr. Calcraft gives him to expect.

The state of the House of Commons, from what passed last week, is certainly very critical, and the conduct of the *more immediate Bute faction* there, with the *Lord Deputy North* at the head of the illustrious band, glares more and more in the eyes of the world, and must augment the universal abhorrence. Lord Stanhope arrived here at Hayes. on Sunday night. Zeal for the public has brought his Lordship, without his family, from Geneva.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, April 22, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I OMITTED to inform you of two resolutions taken by ministers, had they succeeded at the India

House ; the one to stop payment of Lord Clive's jaghire, the other to make the direction for five years, by act of parliament. The bill was prepared, and this is thought to be the great, if not the only, reason for our meeting after the recess.

I am, most respectfully, faithfully,
and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

P.S. A servant has just brought the enclosed⁽¹⁾; which contains such very material intelligence, that I send it for your Lordship's perusal.

(¹) The following is the enclosure referred to, and is in the hand-writing of Sir Philip Francis ; a fac-simile of which will be given in the fourth volume : —

“ 21 April, 1770.

“ Some very alarming intelligence is arrived this day, by a ship sent express from North America. I have seen no letters, but I have the following particulars from *very good authority* : — On Monday, the 5th of March, between 9 and 10 at night, a sentry of the 29th regiment was assaulted by the mob at Boston. Captain Preston with a serjeant and twelve men went to relieve him. A contest with the mob ensued ; the soldiers fired ; three men were killed upon the spot ; one died next day, and seven others were dangerously wounded. The alarm bells were rung ; all the inhabitants took to their arms ; expresses were dispatched by the leaders of the populace to the neighbouring towns, in consequence of which an army of above 3500 men well armed marched into Boston next day. Captain Prescott was taken into custody by the civil magistrates, and thrown into prison, with some of the soldiers. The lieutenant-governor summoned the council. A deputation came to them from the populace, *demanding* in the most peremptory manner, that all the military should be immediately removed out of the town ; otherwise they were ready to drive them out by force ; — that they were already 3500, and expected double that number in a few hours. For the truth of this, some of the council vouched. After a short deliberation, and one expedient which had been

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Friday, p. m. 12 o'clock,
April 27, 1770.

MY LORD,

UPON my return to London I called on Tuesday morning upon Lord Temple, and had the pleasure to hear from him that your Lordship was in very good health. Lord Temple mentioned to me your Lordship's intentions of being in town on Sunday, and that you proposed that we should get some lords to meet here that evening, that the matter might be opened to them on which your Lordship proposed to proceed on Tuesday next, after giving notice in the House of Lords on Monday. I have already mentioned the intention to several of the lords who have usually done me the honour to meet here in the course of this winter, and if your Lordship continues in health or approves of it, I will, after hearing from your Lordship, write notes to all the lords who have met here upon business. I expect the Duke of Richmond in town on Saturday.

proposed to the mob and rejected with disdain, the lieutenant-governor resolved, by the advice of the council, to remove all the troops to the castle. This was done, and the mob dispersed. The whole plan seems to have been preconcerted, and, I should imagine, cannot stop here.

"Pray let me have notice of the day of Lord Chatham's motion. Wilkes will be there." See p. 453.

I should be glad to have a sketch of the bill your Lordship would propose to bring in, on Saturday morning. I should rather imagine, that the matter contained in the bill should, in the first outset at least, be confined to a kind of declaratory bill, to set forth, that the judgment of the House of Commons, on the ground of *expulsion creating incapacity*, was contrary to law, erroneous, &c. It has always appeared to me, that the great and general alarm has been founded on that assertion, and I think a bill declaratory that the law of the land is otherwise, and that that doctrine of the House of Commons is erroneous, would be the most satisfactory and the most intelligible mode of demolishing the proposition.

Indeed, as it appears to me, I think confining the *first* attempt to that single object would avoid the subterfuge and intricacy of what has been asserted relative to the competency of the House of Commons, and exclusive right of judging on the *seat* of the member; for though it should be granted that the House of Commons might expel a member *toties quoties*, yet their doing it in any instance, avowing a ground for so doing not warranted by law, and tacking to the *expulsion* a declaration of *incapacity* does, in my mind, make much alteration in the case, and is and will be a most dangerous stretch of power, and indefensible on any principle of law, justice, or policy. I have just taken the liberty of suggesting to your Lord-

ship the idea which has occurred to me, and have the honour to be, my Lord, with great regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Friday, p. m. half-past
five o'clock, April 27, 1770.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter with the draft of the bill proposed, about two or three hours after I had sent a letter by my servant to your Lordship. I am much obliged to your Lordship for sending it so early, and the more so, as your Lordship will have seen by my letter, that the idea I had formed was rather upon a narrow ground, as indeed in part more as a preparatory step. I thought an attempt might *afterwards* be made to reverse the judgment of the House of Commons in the late particular case, relative to the member for the county of Middlesex; for if we could obtain the first bill, the second would follow more of course.

We are, indeed, very sure of being beat; but we have our option on what ground we shall be beat. I am rather inclined to think that the first part which I have stated in this morning's letter has

been the general cause of alarm, and will affect the public at large the most. I shall hope for the honour of seeing your Lordship in good health and spirits on Sunday evening, and shall now immediately apprise the several lords who should meet here. I never thought the answer which his Majesty was advised to give, could be fully justified. I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, Saturday, April 28, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I TAKE the liberty to trouble you with the draft of the bill I have prepared, and which is to be considered at a meeting at Lord Rockingham's to-morrow evening; where I hope for the pleasure of seeing your Lordship. Lord Camden has revised the draught, and I shall esteem myself fortunate if it meets your Lordship's ideas.

I foresee there may be some opinions against going so far, and which decline to a bill merely declaratory *upon incapacity, grounded on expulsion*; but to me I must say this limit seems much

too narrow, and does by no means reach the great object of redress.

Your Lordship will perceive, that in my draught the resolution of the House of Commons of the 15th of April 1769, is not recited. It is, because there is no mention of incapacity made therein, but singly on the return. I propose in consequence of this bill (should it pass) to offer another to reverse expressly the resolution *nominating* a representative for the *freeholders* of Middlesex, which grievance, though founded on the first, of incapacitation, is in its nature distinct, and I conceive best treated apart. I will further beg to apprise your Lordship, that I intend to mention at the meeting, how very unconstitutional I think the King's answer to the city, and that I am ready and most desirous to move to bring it under consideration in the House of Lords. It is now more than time to put an end to your Lordship's trouble, trusting that you will pardon the liberty, and not disapprove the zeal. I have the honour to be, with truest esteem and affectionate respect,

My dear Lord, &c. &c.

CHATHAM. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 1st of May the Earl of Chatham presented his Bill to the House of Lords; of which the following is a copy:—

A Bill for reversing the Adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, esq. has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, and the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal Representatives.

“Whereas the capacity of being elected a representative of the

WILLIAM DOWDESWELL, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Upper Brook Street, May 10, 1770.

MR. DOWDESWELL presents his compliments to
Lord Chatham, and sends his Lordship a copy of

Commons in Parliament is (under known limitations of law) an original inherent right of the subject; and forasmuch as to deprive the subject of this high franchise and birthright, otherwise than by a judgment according to the law of the land, and the constant established usage of Parliament conformable thereto, and part thereof, is directly contrary to the fundamental laws and freedom of this realm, and in particular to the act, 'declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown,' at the ever memorable period of the revolution: when free election of Members of Parliament was expressly vindicated and secured.

"And whereas John Wilkes, esq. having been duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex, was on the 17th of February 1769, without being heard, adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, by a resolution of the House of Commons, as follows: Resolved, that John Wilkes, esq., having been in this session of parliament expelled this house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament. And whereas on the same day the said House of Commons farther resolved as follows: 'That the late election of a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex is a void election.'

"And whereas the said John Wilkes, esq., having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex, the said House of Commons did, on the 17th of March, 1769, resolve in the words following, 'That the election and return of John Wilkes, esq., who hath been by this house adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, are null and void:'

"And whereas the said John Wilkes, esq., having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in the present parliament for the county of Middlesex aforesaid, and having on the original poll-books, eleven hundred and forty-three votes in his favour, against two hundred and ninety-six, in favour of Henry Lawes Luttrell, esq., the House of Commons did, on the 15th of April, 1769, without a hearing of parties, and in manifest violation of the indubitable right of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex to choose their representatives

the resolutions as they were moved yesterday in the House of Commons. The previous question

in parliament, resolve as follows : ' That Henry Lawes Luttrell, esq. ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex, and thereupon ordered the said return to be amended accordingly.'

" And whereas, by another resolution, of the 8th of May, 1769, the said House of Commons did, upon hearing the matter of the petition of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as far as the same related to the election of Henry Lawes Luttrell, farther resolve as follows : ' That Henry Lawes Luttrell, esq. is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex.' And forasmuch as all the resolutions aforesaid, cutting off the subject from his indubitable birthright, by a vote of one House of Parliament exercising discretionary power and legislative authority, under colour of a jurisdiction in elections, are most arbitrary, illegal, and dangerous.

" Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, ' That all the adjudications contained in the above-mentioned several resolutions are arbitrary and illegal, and the same are and shall be hereby reversed, annulled, and made void to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

After the motion for the second reading of the bill had been supported by Lord Temple, Lord Lyttelton, and the Duke of Richmond, and violently opposed by Lord Denbigh,

The Earl of *Chatham* rose and said :—" The noble lord who spoke last has been very loud against this motion, and very angry with those who supported it, but then he is angry in such a sort that none can be angry with him. I shall, therefore, wave replying to some reflections upon the faction, as he is pleased to call it, and take a short review of the cause of this motion. Here are 1143 legal, sworn freeholders, vote a gentleman their member of parliament, against 296 who oppose him ; with this apparent majority, he comes to take his seat so given him by the laws and constitution of his country. But what do the House of Commons ? Why, they shut the door in his face, and by a new state-arithmetic, make 296 a greater number than 1143. Is not this, my lords, flying in the face of all law and freedom ? Is not this apparently robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of Englishmen's birthrights ? It is very true, the House of Commons had a right, if petitioned by Colonel Luttrell, to inquire minutely into the qualifications of his opponent's electors ; to admit none as such, but those duly qualified by law ; and after making these deductions, then

being put on the first, it became necessary to alter the second, and then the second, third, and fourth

determine the majority. But this has not been even attempted. The seat of the legal representative has been wrested from him, and a violent outrage has been committed, that strikes at every thing that is dear and sacred to the liberties of Englishmen.

“It has been urged, my Lords, that there is no precedent for one House taking cognizance of the proceedings of the other. If my memory serves me right, I remember one nearly parallel, in the case of Titus Oates, where the Commons took cognizance of the proceedings of the Lords on that subject ; so that it is no new thing for one house to be a check on the other, as it is not only established by precedent, but by the principles of our constitution. It is said, my lords, that the spirit of discontent has gone abroad—I should be surprised if it had not ; for how can it be otherwise, when, to use a familiar expression, Colonel Luttrell sits in the lap of John Wilkes ; when a corrupt House of Commons invert all law and order, and deny the just privilege the electors claim by the constitution of these kingdoms? When a majority in that house becomes a minister’s state-engine, to effect the worst of purposes, and to produce such monstrous and unconstitutional acts, one cannot help exclaiming in the language of Shakspeare, —

‘Fie on’t ! oh fie ! ’t is an unweeded garden
That grows to seed ; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely.’

“Though I will not aid the voice of faction, I will aid the just complaints of the people ; and whilst I have strength to crawl, I will exert my poor abilities in their service ; and I pledge myself to their cause, because I know it is the cause of truth and justice. I am afraid, my lords, this measure has sprung too near the throne—I am sorry for it ; but I hope his Majesty will soon open his eyes, and see it in all its deformity ; (here Lord Pomfret interrupted him, by calling him to order :) upon which Lord Chatham said,—I do not retract my words ; I esteem the King in his personal capacity, I revere him in his political one ; and on these principles I hope he will see it, and see it in such a light, that he will redress it by the dissolution of a house that could adopt such a measure.”

The bill was rejected by 89 against 43 ; after which, Lord Chatham desired that their lordships might be summoned for the 4th of May, as he had a motion to make of great importance relative to the King. On that day, he moved the following resolution :—“That it is the opinion of this house, that the advice, inducing his Majesty to give the answer to a late humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common Hall assembled, is

were negatived, and a previous question put on all the rest. If it should be thought proper to move

of a most dangerous tendency ; inasmuch as thereby the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject, namely, to petition the King for redress of grievances ; to complain of violation of the freedom of election ; to pray dissolution of parliament ; to point out mal-practices in administration ; and to urge the removal of evil ministers, has, under pretence of reproving certain parts of the said remonstrance and petition, by the generality of one compendious word, *contents*, been indiscriminately checked with reprimand ; and the afflicted citizens of London have heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remonstrance, and petition, laying their complaints and injuries at the feet of the sovereign, as father of his people, able and willing to redress them, cannot but be considered by his Majesty, as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution." The following speech, as well as the preceding one, bears internal evidence of being reported by JUNIUS : —

The Earl of Chatham said : — " I am to consider, in consequence of this motion, what it was the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery of the city of London requested, in order to discover the causes they gave, by their requisition, for such an answer — an answer so harsh, that it exceeds every thing in the history of this country. They requested, my lords, very humbly, a restoration of the freedom of election, a dismissal of unjust servants, and a dissolution of a parliament that protected them ; because they (the citizens of London) were not legally represented by such. Now, my lords, I do aver the truth of this petition ; and I do likewise aver, that the citizens of London, with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, have a right to petition, not only by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, but by a variety of acts of parliament, numerous as they are expressive.* No particular part of the petition is applied to, but the whole of the contents are at once disposed of. ' That this petition was disrespectful to himself (the King), injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.' I am too well acquainted, my lords, with his Majesty, to think him capable of giving such

* The same spirit which violated the freedom of election now invades the Declaration and *Bill of Rights*, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege hitherto undisputed, of petitioning the crown." — *Junius*, vol. i. p. 135. — " The King is bound by the *Declaration* and *Bill of Rights*, to receive all petitions from his subjects." — *Ibid.* iii. 259.

on this plan in the House of Lords, the same correspondence should be called for, which the House of Commons addressed for the 1st of May last ;

an answer — nor could he do it, with propriety, either in his regal or personal capacity. I must beg your patience, my lords, to consider this a little more attentively : First, ‘ Disrespectful to himself.’ How is a King to know this ? Is he a judge of what is disrespectful to him ? No, my lords ; the laws are to determine this for him, the just interpreters of offences. ‘ Injurious to my parliament !’ How injurious to parliament ? when the very nature or part of the petition refers to that freedom of election in the people, by which they became a house of judicature ; ‘ Irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution !’ when the very essence of the constitution not only permits, but requires petitioning the throne, and which the Stuarts never dared to prevent in the zenith of their power. I repeat again, my lords, the King could never give such an answer from himself ; and indeed, my lords, poor as my opinion is of administration, I can hardly think it was a joint official advice, but the opinion of one, or of a confidential few ; for it is impossible, if many were consulted upon this measure, that some of them must not have seen its absurdity.

“ When I mentioned the Livery of London, I thought I saw a sneer upon some faces ; but let me tell you, my lords, that although I have the honour to sit in this House, as a peer of the realm, I am proud, coinciding as I do with these honest citizens in opinion, of the honour of associating my name with theirs. And let me tell the noblest of you all, it would be an honour to you. The Livery of London, my lords, were respectable long before the reformation : the lord mayor of London was a *principal* among the twenty-five barons who received Magna Charta from King John, and they have ever since been considered to possess a principal weight in all the affairs of government. How, then, have these respectable characters been treated ? They have been sent away sore afflicted from his Majesty’s presence, and reprimanded for pursuing their undoubted rights.

“ It was, my lords, when Greece was losing her freedom, that Philip of Macedon figuratively said she had lost an eye. This expression may well be applied to the stab our constitution has received in the election for Middlesex. I may well say that she has lost an eye — I may add, that the other eye is so contused and hurt in consequence, that I am afraid a total darkness will soon overspread the face of the constitution. Here, in my place, in this illustrious assembly, I do avow that Colonel Luttrell is no representative of the people. He is a mere nominee, thrust in by enemies to the laws of the land, and to the principles, the established principles of the constitution.” The motion was negatived.

and it would be easy to alter the resolutions, so as to prevent the previous question, and drive the ministry either to an affirmation or a negative.⁽¹⁾

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Friday, p. m. 4 o'clock,
May 11, 1770.

MY LORD,

I CANNOT just now re-collect my thoughts so fully as to be able to write to your Lordship a decisive opinion on the subject of the letter I had the honour to receive from you. As yet I have not seen the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Portland, and some other lords whom I wish much to talk with on the matter. From some information I have, I should doubt whether in general, among the lords in opposition, an address for the dissolution of parliament would be a measure which they would incline to. It does not strike me that it is particularly called for; because I cannot admit that, though some people may throw out suspicions or reflections that there is lukewarmness, or that we or others do not adhere to the measure of dissolution,

(¹) The resolutions related to the disorders in North America. The mover was Mr. Burke. Upon the second, the House divided, yeas 79, noes 199. Similar resolutions were moved in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Richmond on the 18th, and negatived by 60 against 26.

and various surmises, &c., yet I must hold an opinion, that it is neither for your Lordship's honour nor for ours to suffer ourselves to be sworn every day *to keep our word*.

I hope for the honour of seeing your Lordship in town on Sunday, and am, with great regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Saturday evening, 7 o'clock,
May 12, 1770.

MY LORD,

I SHOULD be glad to know when your Lordship comes to town to-morrow, and will wait upon you if you come before dinner, that I may have the opportunity of some conversation with you prior to the meeting in the evening. Your Lordship would observe in my letter, that I mean to convey that the only doubt which I find among those friends I converse with is confined to the expediency of moving an *address* for dissolution, not on the expediency of the measure itself.

Your Lordship's last letter putting the matter entirely on your Lordship's own opinion of the propriety of *now* moving the address, is I assure your Lordship of much more weight with me, and

may be with others, than the argument in the former letter, where your Lordship in part put it on the necessity of clearing up some doubts which some have spread or attempted to propagate among the public. I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great regard, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 14th, Lord Chatham moved, in the House of Lords, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and most earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that, in the dangerous state wherein his kingdoms are involved, from the high dissatisfactions generally prevailing at home, and from the most alarming disorders which have unhappily manifested themselves in his American dominions, his Majesty will, in his great wisdom and necessary care to prevent more fatal mischiefs, be graciously pleased to take the recent and genuine sense of his people, by dissolving this present parliament, and calling, with all convenient despatch, a new parliament." His Lordship stated the public discontents in England, Ireland, and America; affirmed that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons, who had betrayed their trust; and showed, from the situation of public affairs, the great necessity of having a parliament in whom the people could place a proper confidence. Instead of depriving a county of its representative, he said that one or more members ought to be added to the representation of the counties; in order to operate as a balance, against the weight of the several corrupt and venal boroughs, which perhaps could not be lopped off entirely*, without the hazard of a public convulsion. The motion was negatived without a division. No report of the debate, upon this occasion, which lasted till nine o'clock, has been preserved; written orders, on the motion of Lord Denbigh, having been issued to the several door-keepers to admit on no account whatever any persons but peers' sons and members of the House of Commons.

* "As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation."—*Junius*, i. 287.

MR. SHERIFF TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Austin Friars, May 23, 1770.

MY LORD,

I TAKE the liberty of enclosing to your Lordship his Majesty's answer⁽¹⁾ to our petition. The lord mayor made a reply to the King, which greatly disconcerted the court. He has promised to recollect what he said, and I fancy the substance will appear in the papers to-morrow. The common-councilmen are so much displeased with his Majesty's answer, that I believe there will be some difficulty to get an address on the birth of the princess.

I am sorry to find from Lord Shelburne, that your Lordship's indisposition still continues. The committee appointed to present the thanks⁽²⁾

(1) "I should have been wanting to the public, as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address. My sentiments on that subject continue the same: and I should ill deserve to be considered as the father of my people, if I should suffer myself to be prevailed upon to make such a use of my prerogative, as I cannot but think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom."

(2) The thanks of the common council of London, which had been voted to Lord Chatham on the 14th of this month, for the zeal he had shown in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of petition. See p. 464.

have ordered the remembrancer to wait on your Lordship to-morrow, to know when we shall have the honour of attending your Lordship. I am, my Lord, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's

most obedient humble servant,

JAMES TOWNSHEND.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO MR. SHERIFF
TOWNSHEND.

May 23, 1770.

SIR,

I AM honoured with the most obliging mark of your attention, in your letter transmitting to me the King's answer to the petition presented this day. I greatly rejoice to hear that my lord mayor asserted the city with weight and spirit, and am full of impatience for the papers of to-morrow. I do not wonder at the dissatisfaction among the common council. Their feelings are just; but allow me, as a friend to the city, to offer you a sincere opinion; which is, that it would give much advantage against you to your enemies, if the usual compliment were not to be made, on the birth of the princess.

I beg to return you, Sir, my best thanks for your kind remembrance of my health, which still continues very indifferent. This circumstance is

made tenfold more painful from the delay it interposes between the reception of so high an honour.

I am, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

MR. SHERIFF TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Austin Friars, May 25, 1770.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the satisfaction of enclosing to your Lordship a copy of the address this day ordered to be presented to his Majesty, and a copy of the thanks to the lord mayor for his conduct on our late remonstrance. The leading men and the common-councilmen in general, *i. e.* of our friends, were against any address ; which I hope will plead my excuse to your Lordship for having mentioned your Lordship's opinion to a few friends who have most influence, and were least inclined to the measure. The lord mayor was strongly of opinion for an address, and would have sent the enclosed copies to your Lordship, if I had not undertaken to do it. The lord mayor's speech in the Public Advertiser of yesterday is verbatim, the words "*and necessary*" being left out before "*revolution*," and is ordered to be entered on the journals of the court of common council.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ The following is a copy of this memorable speech, which

It was near half an hour after three before the sheriffs got to St. James's. The ministers had left court some time; and if I may be allowed to conjecture from what I saw, the news of the address which is to be presented next Wednesday was not unwelcome, though perhaps unexpected. I am, my Lord, with the most sincere regard,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obliged servant,

JAMES TOWNSHEND.

the corporation afterwards caused to be engraven beneath the statue erected to Alderman Beckford's memory in Guildhall:—

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the Mayor of your loyal city of London to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

“ We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty that you will not dismiss us from your presence, without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

“ Permit me, Sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious revolution.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE LORD MAYOR. (1)

Hayes, May 25, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

IN the fulness of the heart the mouth speaks ; and the overflowing of mine gives motion to a weak hand, to tell you how truly I respect and love the spirit which your Lordship displayed on Wednesday. The *spirit of Old England* spoke, that never-to-be-forgotten day. If the heart of the court be hardened, the feelings of the people will be more and more awakened, by every repetition of unrelenting oppression on one part, and of determined and legal exertions on the other.

But I forbear going into a dissertation where my mind is big only with admiration, thanks, and affection. Adieu, then, for the present (to call you by the most honourable of titles), *true Lord Mayor of London* ; that is, *first* magistrate of the *first* city of the world ! I mean to tell you only a plain truth, when I say, your Lordship's mayoralty will be revered, till the constitution is destroyed and forgotten. Believe me ever, with unalterable attachment, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful friend,

and affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

Lady Chatham would not pardon me, if I left

(1) From the original, obligingly communicated by his son, the present William Beckford, Esq.

her out of this expression of the feelings of Hayes. She desires her compliments to your Lordship and Lady Mayoress.

THE LORD MAYOR TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Soho Square, May 25, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR Lordship's partiality to an old friend has been often experienced, but on no occasion more so than the present.⁽¹⁾ What I spoke in the King's presence was uttered in the language of truth, and with that humility and submission, which becomes a subject speaking to his lawful king: at least I endeavoured to behave properly and decently; but I am inclined to believe I was mistaken, for the language of the court is, that my deportment was impudent, insolent, and unprecedented. God forgive them all! Their wickedness and folly will ruin this country.

The common council have this day approved of my conduct in an exemplary manner. We go up to St. James's with a congratulatory address on Wednesday: I trust it will be found to contain no words that are offensive or reproachable. Townshend has just now reported to me the very gracious manner the King was pleased to receive the two

(1) This able, fearless, and patriotic magistrate survived the grateful eulogium little more than three weeks. In a note to Mr. Calcraft, of the 15th of June, Lord Chatham writes, "I hear a very alarming account of lord mayor, and am just going to send to London to inquire." He died on the 21st.

sheriffs. I am, my dear Lord, and ever shall continue,

Your ever faithful and affectionate friend,
and very obedient servant,

WILL. BECKFORD.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 14th of May, at a meeting of the common council of London, held in Guildhall, it was resolved, "That the grateful thanks of this court be presented to the right hon. William Earl of Chatham, for the zeal he has shown in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of petition; and for his wishes and declaration, that his endeavours shall hereafter be used, that parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation; an act which will render his name more honoured by posterity, than the memorable successes of the glorious war he conducted." On the 1st of June, a deputation of the corporation waited upon Lord Chatham with the said resolution; to whom his Lordship immediately delivered the following reply:—

"Gentlemen,

"It is not easy for me to give expression to all I feel, on the extraordinary honour done to my public conduct by the City of London: a body so highly respectable on every account; but above all, for their constant assertions of the birthrights of Englishmen, in every great crisis of the constitution.

"In our present unhappy situation, my duty shall be, on all proper occasions, to add the zealous endeavours of an individual to those legal exertions of constitutional rights, which, to their everlasting honour, the City of London has made in defence of freedom of election, and freedom of petition, and for obtaining effectual reparation to the electors of Great Britain.

"As to one point among the declarations which I am understood to have made, of my wishes for the public, permit me to say there has been some misapprehension; for with all my deference to the sentiments of the City, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend triennial parliaments as a remedy against that canker in the constitution, venality in elections; ready to submit my opinion to better judgment, if the wish for that measure shall become prevalent in the kingdom.

"Purity of parliament is the corner-stone in the commonwealth: and as one obvious means towards this necessary end is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL SIMON FRASER
TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Oporto, June 20, 1770.

MY LORD,

HAVING heard that Mr. Whitehead, consul at this place, had orders to send your Lordship a pipe of port wine, I have used the freedom to take the commission out of his hands ; in which he would not have acquiesced, if he were not assured, that I have it in my power at present to execute it better. He would have sent exceeding good wine, but I have happily got a pipe of the vintage of 1765, made with particular care and without any addition of brandy, which I am assured is singular in its kind, and very happy I shall be if it proves so much so as to vindicate its destination.

I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that it is the pride of my life to have been distinguished by

the shire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs. I have thrown out this idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I shall with better hope continue humbly to submit it to the public wisdom, as an object to be most deliberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digested.

“ Having many times, when in the service of the Crown, and when retired from it, experienced, with gratitude, the favour of my fellow citizens, I am now particularly fortunate that, with their good liking, I can offer any thing towards upholding this wisely-combined frame of mixed Government against the decays of time, and the deviations incident to all human institutions ; and I shall esteem my life honoured indeed, if the City of London can vouchsafe to think that my endeavours have not been wanting to maintain the national honour, to defend the colonies, and extend the commercial greatness of my country, as well as to preserve from violation the law of the land, and the essential rights of the constitution.”

you, and that whilst it lasts I shall join to the veneration due to you from the public, that sincere gratitude with which I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's much obliged

and very faithful servant,

SIMON FRASER.⁽¹⁾

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
COLONEL SIMON FRASER.

Hayes, July 28, 1770.

SIR,

I WAS honoured with your most obliging letter from Oporto, of the 20th of June, and I receive the flattering mark of those very favourable sentiments it contains on my subject, with a sensibility not easy to express. A pipe of true port is a matter of no common consequence to a gouty *sexagénaire*; but wine of the best growth, welcome as it is, must bear a small proportion in my feelings, com-

(¹) Eldest son of Simon, twelfth Lord Lovat, executed on Tower Hill in 1747. At the breaking out of the rebellion he was at the university of St. Andrews, and was sent from thence by his father to head his clan in support of the rebels. He surrendered himself in 1746, and was confined for some time in the castle of Edinburgh; but, receiving in 1751 a full pardon, he entered into the British army, and in 1757 raised a regiment of eighteen hundred men, of which he was constituted colonel, went out at their head to America, and distinguished himself at Louisburgh and Quebec. In 1762, he acted as brigadier-general in the forces sent to Portugal to. He sat in four parliaments for the county of Inverness; and having given numerous proofs of his loyalty, he was in 1774 restored to the lands and estates of his father, and died in 1782, without issue.

pared with the consideration of the sender, and the motives to such an attention.

Accept, Sir, abundance of sincere acknowledgments for all your favour, and allow me to add, in answer to the obliging expressions with which you honour me, that if I dare admit the hope that I may deserve any thing from my country, it is in nothing so much as in having earnestly endeavoured during the war, that true merit should be allowed to display itself, and, to use the words I have somewhere seen, "that willing valour should not want a sword." You, dear Sir, and those you led, have sufficiently made my panegyric in the fields of America, and I shall ever be proud and happy to bear a just testimony to such honourable services. I am, with truest esteem and consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient

and obliged humble servant,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, July 15, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

SHOULD the contents of the enclosed ⁽¹⁾ not have fallen into your Lordship's way, you will find by

(1) The enclosure referred to was a copy of an order in council, of the 6th of July, directing, "that the rendezvous of his Majesty's ships, stationed in North America, should be in the harbour of Boston, and that the fortress should be put into a respectable state of defence, and garrisoned by the King's regular troops."

it that the ministers have declared war against Boston, and instructions to the military commanders are preparing accordingly. I do most truly lament that there is not the least chance of a Buckinghamshire remonstrance. I am always, with the utmost respect, your Lordship's most obliged

and affectionate humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Sunday, July 15, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

The enclosure in your letter is a most melancholy piece of information. I had no idea of it. This poor country seems doomed to the worst species of ruin ; that wrought by her own hands, by oppressing, as foolishly as cruelly, the source of our greatness, the devoted colonies. How pregnant is error ! and what a fatal progeny one false step in policy, the stamp duty, has brought forth ! I truly lament with you the no spirit in Buckinghamshire, and I dare say you can weep with me the inexcusable weakness of our noble friend in favour of a tool of the court at Scarborough. I am ever, with truest esteem, my dear Sir,

Your very affectionate

and obliged humble servant,

CHATHAM

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Friday night, July 28, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

SETTING out, together with Pitt, for Somersetshire to-morrow morning, I cannot go away without apprising you by this line, of my youthful excursion. I propose being out upon this party about three weeks, and think of taking Eastbury in my return. I mention this circumstance, the rather as you talked of being in Dorsetshire soon, and am not quite without hope that our purposes may coincide.

I was in town on Wednesday last, saw Lord Rockingham, and learnt nothing more than what I knew before; namely, that the Marquis is an honest and honourable man, but that “moderation, moderation!” is the burden of the song among the body. For myself, I am resolved to be in earnest for the public, and shall be a *scarecrow of violence* to the gentle warblers of the grove, the moderate Whigs and temperate statesmen. Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me, with unalterable esteem and affection, most faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent, August 3, 1770.

I AM to thank my Love a million of times for the most interesting packet I ever received. You

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describe, in words which are only yours, sentiments which are equally mine, and which every beauty I see at delightful Burton quickens with a most ardent wish that we could have shared them together. Shall I begin to speak of my inimitable correspondents, or of my delightful little companion? Nothing can equal the letters you sent me, or the boy you so kindly spared me. Pray tell all at Athens, professors, and scholars, how truly charmed I am with their performances, in their several manners, and let my dear James know that I send him a thousand *bravos*. They may all rest satisfied that Pitt is every thing that can please: he is a sweet, idle boy; he is a sensible, conversable, discreet man: sense or nonsense, verse or prose, Homer, mouse, taste, all shine alike, and draw perpetual applauses from papa and Mr. Wilson.

I dismiss my fellow-traveller on Tuesday next for Cornwall, where he is ardent to go, and hope to receive him back safe and sound at Eastbury about that day se'nnight. We expect Mr. Grenville and Mr. James on Sunday or Monday. Don't I go on gallantly? When I shall get home at this rate I know not; but sure I am, that my thoughts are at Hayes some part of every hour in every day. I write this just returned from our hills, not having to-morrow morning my own. Supper enters. Good night.

Your ever loving husband,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, Saturday night, September 29, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

IT is with extreme pleasure that I learn, by the kind favour of your Lordship's letter, that you are arrived in England ; if this wretched island is still to be called by a once respected name. I was counting the hours till I could be assured of your return towards these parts ; which, from the information at Shelburne House, I understood was to be about this time. I trust I need not say, that to see your Lordship is at all times a truly sincere and sensible satisfaction to me. In the present melancholy and most perilous moment, the friends of the public and of each other cannot meet too soon. The dangers from *abroad* are great ; but to men, even those will never supersede the fixed determination to pursue inflexibly reparation for our rights *at home*, and security against the like future violations. I wait anxiously to learn the result of the meeting at York. I trust it will aim right ; but nothing, I expect, will hit the mark full but the city of London, where the constitution is not yet called *faction*, and where the modern dictionary does not yet enough prevail to proscribe the word *remonstrance*.

I will expect your Lordship at Hayes, according to your most kind intention. I have no sort of en-

gagement that can stand in the way during the whole week, except a little law business on Wednesday morning. I will therefore only beg your Lordship to consult your own convenience; and be assured, that to embrace Lord Shelburne there is no difference of days, but the earlier or the later. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and
affectionate friend and humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Wednesday morning.
[October 4, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM just going to London to visit my nephew, Mr. Pitt, on the late melancholy event of Sir Richard Lyttelton's death.⁽¹⁾ This allows me only a moment to return your Lordship a thousand thanks for the honour of your most obliging letter, with the enclosures. I have cast a hasty eye over the sketch of the remonstrance, and will fully consider it before I have the pleasure of

⁽¹⁾ Sir Richard died on the 1st of October at Chelsea. In the following year, his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, caused an obelisk to be erected to his memory in Boconnoe Park. See Vol. I. p. 180.

seeing you to-morrow, according to the hope your Lordship's goodness has given me. On the first view, the style seems not sufficiently measured, nor the expression enough moulded into technical respect to the throne.

The House of Commons, too, might perhaps be better pointed out to public odium and indignation, by being described in less abusive terms, and defined by the flagrant invasion of the rights of their constituents. This method would afford less handle against the city, and make more way with the sincere and honest public. Indeed, I think it indispensably necessary, towards maintaining the ground with propriety and advantage, that the city should acquiesce to such a strain of language as their true friends, best able to judge of this matter, think advisable. *Fortiter in re* I recommend, but less invective in words.

I will trouble your Lordship no further at present, but expect with impatience the kind favour you promise to-morrow. I am ever, with warmest sentiments of friendship, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, Friday night, October 19, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. SAWBRIDGE⁽¹⁾ came here this evening, after having attended the common council. The recorder's business⁽²⁾ has ended much to the satisfaction of our friends. On looking back, they found the entry of an old order for employing the recorder and common serjeant in all city business; therefore the following resolutions were proposed and carried; — 1. to repeal this order so far as relates to the recorder, 2. to employ the recorder in no city business, he being deemed unworthy their confidence, 3. to retain and consult Serjeant Glynn in all the city affairs, 4. to give the freedom to Mr. Dunning, for having, when solicitor-general, defended in parliament the right to petition and remonstrate.

Saturday morning.

This morning's post brings the following intelligence from a good quarter: — “The Spanish

(¹) Alderman Sawbridge was at this time member for Hythe. In 1774, he was chosen for the city of London, and in 1776 obtained the mayoralty. He died in 1795.

(²) Sir James Eyre, afterwards chief-justice of the Common Pleas. His conduct, in declining to attend at St. James's with the city remonstrance, gave much offence, and was made a subject of investigation before the common council. In his defence, the recorder alleged, that his conscience would not suffer him to be present at the delivery of, much less to read, an address couched in such harsh terms.

ambassador received a courier this morning. Lord Weymouth has been to wait on him, and received for answer at the door, that his excellency was so ill he could not see his Lordship, and also, that his head ached so violently, that he had not been able to read his despatches. You may rely on this." I remain,

Most respectfully

and faithfully yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Saturday morning, October 20, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE kind favour of your letter has brought me a very good account of the issue of the recorder's business. The city comes out of the affair with much propriety and honour, and a due mark is set on the slavish doctrines and petulant behaviour of their servant. The regard to Mr. Serjeant Glynn is highly to my satisfaction: the justice done to Mr. Dunning, I extremely applaud. I could wish Mr. Wedderburn's merit to the cause of the constitution not to be forgot. I think it a species of injustice if, on some proper occasion, it be not intended to show him too that his spirited disinterested conduct is felt as it deserves. I fear some mixture of narrow ideas and local antipathy. To

speaking plain, nothing is more contrary to public good than to retain the smallest grain of alienation or suspicion towards a *Scotchman* renouncing and thoroughly resisting *Scotch influences* and *despotism*.

The Spanish ambassador's *head-ache*, I doubt not, makes many a heart ache. The secretary of state running to learn the fate of England from his excellency shows as much want of ability as it betrays the meanest and most abject state to which this kingdom is brought. I am ever, with perfect truth, my dear Sir,

Very affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

[October —, 1770.]

MY LORD,

As it is impossible for me to suppress my sensations on a late most unhappy event⁽¹⁾, I trust you

(¹) The death of the Marquis of Granby, which took place at Scarborough, on the 19th of October. The following account of this melancholy event is contained in a letter from Dr. Storer to Mr. Calcraft, dated Belvoir Castle, November 2d: — "In my private opinion, Lord Granby was never in real health from the time I had the honour of meeting him at Scarborough on the 30th of August. From about the 9th of last month, he had rather complained, at intervals, of a pain in his breast. On Sunday evening his Lordship was blistered on his side, and in consequence was better that night, and the greatest part of Monday; but on that evening, when I was returning from his chamber with the pleasing hope that he was

will pardon this intrusion of respect and attachment, and sincere solicitude for your Grace's health.

The loss to England is, indeed, irreparable; and if it can be felt more deeply than at Hayes, it is only at Belvoir. May Providence sustain your Grace's strength, and supply every possible consolation from whatever yet remains to you dear and interesting, is the ardent wish of him who admired

asleep, Dr. M., who entered the room soon after, found his Lordship supported by Netzell. I need not tell you the horror I felt when, on entering the room, I found Lord G. in a fit, senseless, and his eyes fixed. At length, by the assistance of strong cordial medicines, we succeeded in bringing his Lordship to himself. Alarmed by this fit, we sent immediately for Dr. Dealtry. The two physicians agreed to put cataplasms to his feet. This operation removed the pain in his breast. On Wednesday his Lordship seemed much better. About noon on Thursday he got up, free from pain, and in better spirits. His Lordship continued in his dining-room for about three hours; when he complained of being drowsy, and desired us to go down to dinner, whilst he went to bed. We did so; but the first course was not over before Lord Granby sent for Dr. M.; complained to him, that he felt a new pain: 'Where, my lord,—in the old place?' 'No! just here!' pointing to his left side near his heart; 'and now,' says he, 'it is in my elbow; give me your hand to raise me up.' He did so, and rapped with his foot at the same time. I started at the alarm, ran up stairs, and had the inexpressible horror to see him speechless and in convulsions; out of which, alas! he never returned. All this horrid scene began and was closed in less time than I have been describing it; so that we have the greatest reason to think that our dear noble friend suffered as little as it is possible for human nature to do in its last struggle. I have been at Belvoir since the funeral, wishing to contribute every thing in my poor power to the consolation of the Duke of Rutland, who, I fear, is struck deep indeed."

and loved the noble virtues of the son ⁽¹⁾, reveres the illustrious father, and dedicates to his whole house increasing respect and attachment. I remain

Your Grace's affectionate

and humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Belvoir Castle, November 19, 1770.

MY LORD,

THE severe distress attending my unfortunate situation has prevented, has indeed disabled me from sooner returning those sincere thanks which have been long due from me to your Lordship, for your most affectionate letter.

Nothing could have given me so great a consolation, in my many painful reflections on the private virtues of an amiable son, as to receive so illustrious

(1) Junius, in a note to a collection of his letters published after the decease of the Marquis of Granby, says, — "The death of Lord Granby was lamented by Junius. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life he was unquestionably that good man, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a great one. *Bonum virum felicè dixeris ; magnum libenter.* I speak of him now without partiality: I never spoke of him with resentment. His mistakes in public conduct did not arise from want of sentiment or want of judgment, but in general from the difficulty of saying no to the bad people who surrounded him."—Vol. i. p. 105.

a testimonial of his public virtues from the hand and heart of Lord Chatham; who always judges the best and feels the warmest, for the public service and safety.

What I should beg leave to offer to your Lordship, my poor assistance towards forwarding your noble endeavours for the good of this country, will, I fear, come far short of what it might have done before my great loss; but such as is in my power to give, your Lordship will have, and with it my warmest wishes.

It is a great addition to my sorrow, that I am so soon, in my turn, to enter on the melancholy task of condoling with your Lordship. I heartily sympathise with you and with the public, in the very great loss which your Lordship's family, and which this kingdom, has sustained by the death of Mr. Grenville.

My sincerest wish is, that success, happiness, and uninterrupted health may attend your Lordship, and enable you to pursue your noble and virtuous plan; by which alone we may expect protection from confusion and from ruin. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most sincere
and obliged humble servant,
RUTLAND.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Saturday, past one o'clock, November 10, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SEND you a thousand sincere thanks for your kind solicitude about me and mine. The account of last night is such as, for the first time, seems to Lady Chatham and myself a ground of some solid hope. Dr. Addington's judgment, that a fever suppressed is Mr. Grenville's case, was yesterday happily verified by the appearance of a considerable eruption on the face; the pulse kept up sufficient for nature, aided by Dr. Addington's plan, to throw off the evil. Lady Chatham is gone to town to-day, full of hope: pray God, the evening account may confirm and increase this happy gleam!

Lord Mayor⁽¹⁾ has just left me; the object of his visit was the press-warrant. His Lordship's discourse was candid and manly. I frankly declared *the fullest opinion against striking at this necessary means of public safety, be the popularity of it what it may*. He answered with good sense and discretion; adding the most obliging expressions towards me. What resolution his Lordship will finally take, he *very properly* reserved to himself.

(1) Brass Crosby, Esq. Many severe reflections had been thrown out against his predecessor, Alderman Trecothick, for backing press-warrants in the city.

Since writing the above, Lord Rockingham has been with me. His whole language was, as I expected, honourable, just, and sensible. My esteem and confidence in his Lordship's upright intentions grow from every conversation with him.

Ever most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, November 11, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

As your Lordship is to see Serjeant Glynn to-day, it may be proper to inform you of a paragraph in a letter of this morning: — “Within a day or two Mr. Beardmore is to put a question to Mr. Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Dunning, and the common serjeant, whether the Lord Mayor ought, by a requisition from the privy council or admiralty, to back the press-warrants; and if he refuses, what they apprehend will be the consequence?”

On my return last night, I found intelligence of Lord Mansfield's refusal to be Speaker of the House of Lords; which has occasioned great consternation amongst the ministers ⁽¹⁾, both on account of

(1) Junius, in a private note to Woodfall, of the 12th of November, says, — “Lord Mansfield has thrown ministry into confusion, by suddenly resigning the office of Speaker of the House of Lords.”

the mode and time of his doing this. His words were, "*he would not.*" Just at the meeting, and after frequent audiences in the *closet*, the measure does seem strong; in his Lordship it may be *timidity*.⁽¹⁾

At eleven o'clock on Friday the Duke of Argyle died; by twelve Lord Barrington had a letter from the King, ordering the grey dragoons to Lord Panmure, the Scotch fusileers to Mackay, Mackay's to Urmston of the guards, the government of Limerick to Colonel Hale, and his light dragoons to Colonel Preston. All this without any communication with ministers, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland!

I am, my dear Lord,

most respectfully and faithfully, yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

⁽¹⁾ The parliament met on the 13th. On the following day, Junius thus addresses Lord Mansfield:—"You continue to support an administration which you know is universally odious, and which, on some occasions, you yourself speak of with contempt. You would fain be thought to take no share in government, while, in reality, you are the main spring of the machine. Instead of acting that open, generous part, which becomes your rank and station, you meanly skulk into the *closet*, and give your sovereign such advice, as you have not spirit to avow or defend. You secretly engross the power, while you decline the title of minister. Are the seals to be for ever in commission, that you may enjoy five thousand pounds a year? I beg pardon, my Lord;—your *fears* have interposed at last, and forced you to resign. The odium of continuing Speaker of the Lords, upon such terms, was too formidable to be resisted."—Vol. ii. p. 179.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

November 11, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAPPY to know you got home safe, though a dark night, from the kindest of visits. I am now to thank you a thousand times for your obliging attention in writing. Lord Mansfield's refusal to be Speaker is probably only ill health; but that must give uneasiness at St. James's: to the ministry perhaps not so much; for I consider his Lordship as the King's *minister* ⁽¹⁾, not as their supporter and fellow-labourer. The military line of business is new.

Mr. Serjeant Glynn has just left me. I find him a most ingenious, solid, pleasing man, and the spirit of the constitution itself. I never was more taken by a first conversation in my life. By a note just received, poor Mr. Grenville is only rather better. His state is very precarious. Lady Chatham went to him again this morning. Adieu, my dear Sir. Coach at the door and pretty late.

Ever most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

(1) "Wheel within wheel!" writes Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft on the 10th; "Lord Mansfield never surely would have kept his intention a secret to the day before the meeting of parliament, if it had not been so understood by the *closet*."

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.Shelburne House, Sunday,
November 11, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CAME to town last night, both disappointed and hurt at the delay of measures in the city.⁽¹⁾ I shall not be surprised to find your Lordship much *disgusted* on the same account. From the soundness of the bottom, however, I have every reason to believe that though delayed, they are not defeated. In this state of things I wish much to wait upon your Lordship, whatever day is most convenient to you. I am ever, my dear Lord,

Your most devoted, humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Sunday evening, November 11, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM heartily glad that you arrived in town, because I am always truly glad of the opportunities of exchanging sentiments on the state of this devoted country. As for the various and extensive ill consequences of a delay which infatuation alone

⁽¹⁾ A fresh petition and remonstrance to the King was at this time in progress.

could produce (the bottom admitted to be sound), they have all fallen upon the delayers, and nothing remains but the smaller or greater degree of diminution of weight and efficacy in whatever steps they take in assertion of rights they defend. Disgusted though your Lordship supposes I may be, at these egregious errors, I will not say I am. My experience would have given me very little, if I had not learned to view without surprise, and with much of pity and of good will, not of contempt, the weaknesses of the well-intentioned, absorbed too often in smaller things, and neglecting and losing the critical moments for the execution of greater.

There is also, I perceive, reason to fear a race of frivolous and ill-placed popularity about press-warrants. I am determined to resist this ill-judged attempt to shake the public safety. In this state of things, I shall persevere to do my duty to my country, determined by principle, though unanimated by hope. As to what the city now intends to do, I wish to hear nothing of it; resolved to applaud and defend what I think right, and to disapprove what shall appear to me wrong and untenable. All the rest is to me, my dear Lord, nothing. The sooner I have the pleasure to embrace your Lordship the happier I shall be. My gout is subsided, and I am well enough to take the air. I am ever, my dear Lord, with truest esteem and affection,

Your Lordship's

most faithful friend and servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday night, November 13, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE favour of your kind note reached me at Lord Temple's, whither I was just returned from Bolton Street, after assisting in some family duties there; and a most sad assembly it was.⁽¹⁾ Nothing

(¹) The death of Mr. George Grenville had taken place on the morning of this day. In addition to Mr. Burke's character of him which will be found in Vol. I. p. 106., the following sketch, from a work published in 1789, and entitled "Extra-Official State Papers, by William Knox, Esq., late Under-secretary of State," may not be unacceptable:—
"Mr. Grenville, under a manner rather austere and forbidding, covered a heart as feeling and tender as any man ever possessed. He liked office as well for its emoluments as its power; but in his attention to himself, he never failed to pay regard to the situations and circumstances of his friends; though to neither would he warp the public interest or service in the smallest degree; rigid in his opinions of public justice and integrity, and firm, to inflexibility, in the construction of his mind, he reprobated every suggestion of the political expediency of overlooking frauds or evasions in the payment or collection of the revenue, or of waste and extravagance in its expenditure. But although he would not bend any measure out of the strict line of rectitude to gain popularity, he was far from being indifferent to the good or ill opinion of the public. Inheriting but a small patrimonial fortune, he had early accustomed himself to a strict appropriation of his income, and an exact economy in its expenditure, as the only sure ground on which to build a reputation for public and private integrity, and to support a dignified independency; and it was the unvaried practice of his life in all situations, as he has often told me, to live upon his own private fortune, and save the emoluments of whatever office he possessed; on which account, he added, 'the being in

can be be more friendly and obliging than your attentions to Lady Chatham and myself. She is, thank God, as well as her strength permits her to be, after being up the greatest part of the night, in such a scene. Lord Temple is deeply affected; but I have the pleasure to tell you he seems otherwise well.

It is a great satisfaction to me to understand you purposed going to the House, and supporting Mr. Dowdeswell⁽¹⁾ in the operation of the day; and I cannot enough express how truly I feel the kind motive you are so good as to mention towards your determination. I hope the day will have passed tolerably well, though I confess I have my doubts, considering how nice the line is which appears to me proper in the present conjuncture.

I am ever, with truest esteem and affection,

My dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

or out makes no difference in my establishment or manner of life; every thing goes on at home in the same way: the only difference is, that my children's fortunes would be increased by my being in, beyond what they would be if I remained out, and that is being as little dependant upon office as any man who was not born to a great estate can possibly be.' "

(¹) On this day, Mr. Dowdeswell opposed the address upon the King's speech at the opening of the session, but did not move any amendment; and no division took place.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

November 14, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM sorry to say our debate yesterday was not so forcible as might have been expected, though conducted on the plan your Lordship had mentioned. Barré and Burke were too much principals, and went into too large a field, though parts of both were proper and well. The former attacked Lord Barrington strongly on St. George's Fields and his Gibraltar letters. His Lordship's defence was wretched. The few speakers were Lord Greville, Mr. Rice, Sir Charles Saunders, short and well, pointing to inquiry, and calling for Commodore Forest's letters and the captain of the Tamur to the bar; Sir W. Meredith, Colonel Barré, Lord Barrington, Mr. Burke, Lord North, Mr. Dowdeswell, who was ill heard. The loss of Mr. Grenville seems heavily felt; and I perceive some management will be required to reconcile gentlemen's minds to future meetings and a new leader.

I sat next Sir William Meredith, who talks the language I wish. He is impatient to see your Lordship, and adopt your plans. Wedderburn is, as he tells me, eagerly right in law points. I understand what Sir Charles Saunders threw out yesterday is to-day to be moved in form, so stay to attend it; but as the address goes up to-morrow, I shall return to Ingress and have the satisfaction of calling to pay

my sincere respects at Hayes. We rose at seven; the Lords at four. The speakers there were Lord Sandys, Lord Grantham, Lord Rockingham, Duke of Manchester, Dukes of Richmond and Bolton, Lord Sandwich. I am, with unalterable attachment,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
affectionate, and faithful
friend and servant,
J. CALCRAFT.

P. S. I am sorry to see a very thin attendance on our side. The ministers do not seem at their ease. Lord North's speech indicated a strong desire of peace, though an apprehension of war.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, p. m. 3 o'clock,
November 15, 1770.

MY LORD,

I SHALL be very glad to hear that your Lordship and Lady Chatham have not suffered in health from the concern you must have felt on the great loss sustained by the decease of Mr. Grenville. Your Lordship will probably now have heard what passed in parliament on the first day of the session. I think, in the House of Lords, one of the most material circumstances was the argument of Lord

Gower, which he made use of in answer to me. I had charged the administration with neglect in not having prepared much earlier, particularly marking that they ought to have taken the advice of augmenting the number of seamen, &c., on the motion made at the close of last session. I charged them also with further neglect in not arming, on the informations which I supposed they received in June, &c. &c. Lord Gower's answer was, that they had been vigilant, but that they had been good stewards and good economists in not incurring expense, till it became absolutely necessary.

In the course of the day I had occasion to speak again, and I then took notice of Lord Gower's argument, and said that I took it as an acknowledgment that they had not begun preparations until the news came of our being actually drove out of Falkland's Island ; that if they thought that then was time enough, I did not, but on the contrary, that not preparing earlier appeared to me highly criminal.

I should hope that your Lordship will find yourself in health and spirits, so as to be able very soon to return to the consideration of public affairs. It is much wished that a plan should be soon formed, so that in both houses of parliament the proceedings should go on hand in hand. I imagine the object should be to point out the neglect of administration in not having prepared earlier. If your Lordship could venture to be in London a day or two before any actual motion is made next

week, it would much accelerate business. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Tuesday night,
November 20, 1770.

MY LORD,

THE House of Lords was summoned for Thursday on notice given by the Duke of Richmond, that a motion would be made. I have now enclosed to your Lordship a copy of the proposed motion. The observation your Lordship made on one part, in regard to extending the date so far back as when O'Reilly was sent to the West Indies, has been waved; but by the addition made to that part of the motion, it now stands as requiring information of what fleets and forces were sent between the shorter period, and also calls for the state of the Spanish force in the West Indies, according to the accounts received up to September the 12th, 1770; so that O'Reilly's force will appear from what the account of the troops, &c. now there will show.

It may also in debate be equally argued on,

that a great force went with O'Reilly, though in fact it is to be remembered, that he was sent to take possession and garrison a new Spanish settlement; as Louisiana had been ceded by the French to the Spaniards. In general, the ideas are, that confining the debate to what may have passed in the course of the last twelve months or thereabouts, will render the debate more pointed and, perhaps, more forcible.

There are various reports to-day, in regard to the account which the last messenger has brought. Many think that his accounts are favourable in the present moment; but as it does not as yet appear to me that there is any positive declaration that the account is favourable, I am rather inclined still to believe, that at most it is but an evasive answer. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Wednesday, November 21, 1770.

I AM too anxious, my dear Sir, about a report I hear of your having the gout, not to beg a word of information. It is most sincerely wished here that the account may be favourable. In case it

shall prove to be true gout, allow an old practitioner like myself to beg of you to submit, and give it its full time. I know this caution and earnest request is not unnecessary to your zeal for attending the public, and accompanying your friends; but you may ruin your future health by an untimely effort; therefore, I beg, again and again, that you will sit quiet at Ingress.

The motions to-morrow are for papers with regard to Falkland's Island, and the Spanish force in the West Indies. Potter's answer is said to be favourable. I believe it is only evasive, and a farther snare.

Ever very affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, November 21, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

So many days should not have passed without most anxious inquiries after my friends at Hayes, had not a pretty severe attack of gout in the stomach confined me to my room since Saturday; though now I am so much better as to propose an airing, with every hope of being able to attend to-morrow's business in parliament.

“War, inevitable war,” says a well-informed correspondent; “Lord Mansfield is frightened to

death, and now proclaims every where, that Norton only is fit to be lord chancellor. Lord Barrington is heart-broken at his nonsensical speech⁽¹⁾ in parliament; the army affronted, and Hervey full of resentment, at being hung out in the envious colours his Lordship chose for him."

Lord Howe has orders to proceed to the Mediterranean with all despatch. I have received a most affectionate letter from Lord Temple, which gives very great satisfaction to me; not only from the love and respect I bear his Lordship, but because it portends, as I sincerely hope, future good. I hear Lord Mansfield maintained his old doctrine in the court of King's Bench yesterday⁽²⁾, that juries

(1) Junius, under the signature of "Testes," in a letter to the printer of the Public Advertiser of the 19th, gives the following account of Lord Barrington's speech:—"A few days ago I was in a large public company, where there happened some curious conversation. The secretary-at-war was pleased to express himself with unusual simplicity and candour. He assured us that, after having carefully considered the subject, he did not know a single general officer (out of near a hundred now in the service) who was in any shape qualified to command the army; and for fear we should not believe him, repeated and enforced his assertion five several times. You will allow, Sir, that at the eve of a foreign war, this is pretty comfortable intelligence for the nation, especially as it comes from authority. He gave us some consolation, however, by assuring us that he and General Hervey would take excellent care of the army; and compared himself (not unhappily) to an old woman curing an ague, with the assistance of Dr. Radcliff."—Vol. iii. p. 278.

(2) In the case of the King against Woodfall, for publishing Junius's letter to the King.

were not judges of the criminality or innocence of the fact. I am, with the warmest attachment,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and affectionate

friend and servant,

JNO. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

At dinner, Wednesday, November 21, 1770.

I RECEIVE, my dear Sir, this moment your most obliging letter, bringing the unwelcome confirmation of the report of gout; and in the stomach too. My monitory letter will have reached you before this, and, I hope, will have persuaded you to change your purpose for to-morrow. Indeed, the effort so soon is too hazardous: my earnest request to you to sit quiet at home a little longer would easily have had all the hands at table to it.

The force in India, according to the repartition, is greatly short of what it should be with such a revenue, and not a balance to the seapoys, should they revolt. War, I conclude, inevitable; and Lord Mansfield quite incurable of his political leprosy. Adieu, in haste, from, dear Sir,

Your ever affectionate

friend and servant,

CHATHAM.

was not judges of the criminality or innocence of
the fact. I am with the warmest attachment

Your Lordship's

most faithful and affectionate

friend and servant

John Carteret

At London, Wednesday, November 21, 1770

THE LIFE OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CARTERET, ESQ.

At London, Wednesday, November 21, 1770

I receive, my dear Sir, this moment your most

obliging letter, which I am very glad to receive

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Albemarle Street, December, 1839.

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